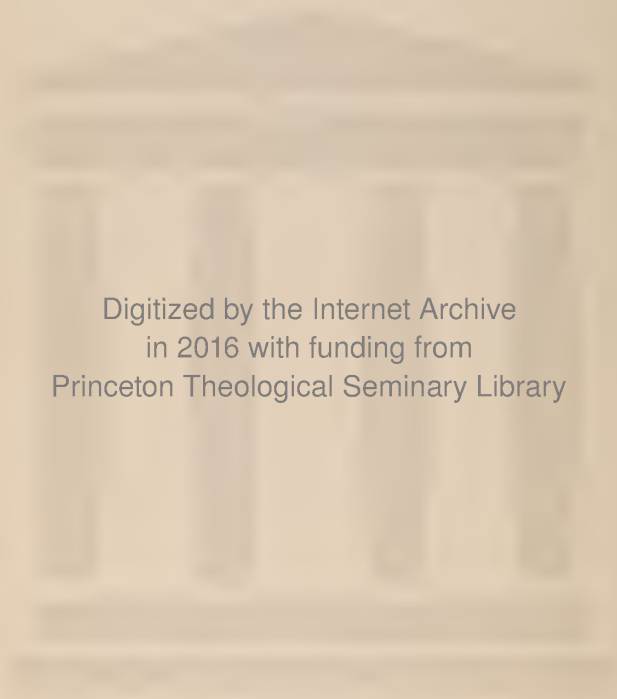






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BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

A

Collection of Tracts

IN

BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

BY CHARLES HODGE,

PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE, IN THE
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, AT PRINCETON, N. J.

Ἐπευνάστε τὰς γραφάς.

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THE

**History of Theology**

IN

**THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.**

BY DR. AUGUSTUS THOLUCK,  
*PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE.*

—

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,  
BY THE EDITOR.

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NB

The following history has not hitherto been published. It is a translation of a manuscript copy of a course of lectures, delivered by the author, when connected with the university of Berlin. Any abruptness or want of connexion in the sentences, which may in some instances be observable, will easily be excused, if it is remembered, that these lectures were not intended for the press, and that the manuscript which the translator has used, is a transcript of notes taken in the lecture room. It is probable that the lectures themselves were never written out in full.—As Dr. Tholuck has had the kindness to read the translation, however, it is presumed that nothing essential has been omitted.

This portion of the history contains only the account of the state of Theology and Religion in the early part of the last century. The following portion, which contains the history of scepticism in England, France, and Germany, is ☒ already translated and will be sent, Deo volente, in season for the next number of the Repertory.

EDITOR.

Halle Aug. 1827.

THE

History of Theology

IN

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTION.

HUMAN knowledge, is derived from reflection and experience. The latter, supplies the materials, which the former arranges and systematises. The first step, therefore, in the acquisition of knowledge, is the collection of facts. But, as our personal experience is so limited, we must avail ourselves of the experience of others, and as far as possible of that of the whole race to which we belong. And although much of this experience may not be immediately applicable to ourselves, it will, in general, be found available to our purposes, as all men are but one family. It is thus the great object of history, to enlarge and perfect our personal experience, by that of our fellow men. Even profane history furnishes us with an abundance of facts, illustrative of the nature of man and his relation to God, and with much greater clearness, we can learn from the history of the church these interesting truths. As in the lives of individuals, there are periods, in which they can learn more of themselves and their relation to God, than in others, so in the history of the church there are periods peculiarly rich in instruction. Such for example as the commencement of the Christian æra, the time of the reformation, and the age

in which we live. From the intimate connexion of events, however, it is difficult to fix with precision the limits of such periods. The development is not confined to one insulated point; although its progress and character are more obvious in some portions of the period, than in others. When therefore, we wish to treat important portions of ecclesiastical history, we cannot confine our attention to these portions themselves, but must review those which preceded them, and trace the causes of the events, which we wish to record, and mark their effect upon following generations. With respect to the history of our own times we can only review the past, and endeavour to ascertain the causes of the events which we now behold, their consequences we must leave to others to examine.

It is the object of the present course of lectures, to examine the causes which have produced the present state of religion and theology. This examination will teach us, what great lesson God would have us learn from the present state of the church. For it is clear from the review of the whole course of ecclesiastical history, that it is the object of divine wisdom, to make every age inculcate some great moral or religious truth. God allows the gospel to come into conflict with all the diversified forms of human folly and sin, to teach us that it contains the remedy for every possible form of error and evil, and to make this very conflict the means of rendering more and more perfect the manner of conceiving and presenting its doctrines. In the first ages, the Christian faith, having not yet insinuated itself into the feelings and modes of thinking of the early Christians, we see the constant struggle between the free grace of the gospel, and the disposition to depend upon legal observances. In the second period, we see the gospel in conflict with various philosophical systems, some irreconcilably opposed to it, others attempting an amalgamation with it, but none of them effecting the purpose of rendering theology at once

biblical and philosophical. In the middle ages we see the corrupted faith, and imperfect philosophy, of the earlier periods, degenerating into superstition, equally destructive of genuine faith and true philosophy. In the time of the reformation, religion and knowledge appear anew. The doctrines, which distinguish this period were truly evangelical, and the theological systems, biblical, but not entirely free from the fetters of the old philosophy. To this succeeded the period of strenuous orthodoxy, and vital piety again declined, leaving nothing but the mere form of biblical knowledge; and even this, being destitute of the vital principle, was less perfect than it was among the reformers. The period of pietism followed—and orthodoxy was again imbued with life and restored to the form in which it was held by the reformers, but not improved. The next period was that of the theoretical and practical infidelity, and piety again declined in the Protestant church. Within the last ten years it has been again revived—and made to rest upon the leading doctrines of the Bible. Theology is pervaded by a spirit of true religion, and is so advanced, that it has nothing to fear from its opposers.

Through the experience of all past centuries, therefore, the present age may derive much important instruction, and the almost universal declension of the period of scepticism now passing away, has led theologians more carefully to examine what doctrines can best be made the foundation of a theological system, and are most essential to vital piety; and to endeavour so to construct their systems as to render them proof against all objections. To teach this lesson appears to be the object of the age in which we live.

I. CONFLICT BETWEEN ORTHODOXY AND PIETISM.

SECTION I.

The declension of vital piety into mere speculative orthodoxy.—Period of formal orthodoxy.

As we have already remarked, in order to explain the present state of religion and theology we must direct our attention to the preceding period of scepticism; for the extent to which infidelity was then carried, has produced the reaction which we now witness. But the period of scepticism cannot be properly understood without previously attending to that of pietism and orthodoxy, which in some measure led to this infidelity. Partly in that, pietism undervalued the defence of religion by human learning; and partly, from the defective manner in which theology, as a science, was presented to the public. The theology or formal orthodoxy of this period may be traced to the Reformers. It was indeed the object of these great men, to restore the pure doctrines of the Bible, and to reduce them to a regular system; but there were many circumstances, in the age in which they lived, which prevented them from fully effecting this object. We do not see many in this period, who seem to have been led to the renunciation of the Catholic faith, from the inward experience of religion. Those who had this experience, were the real authors of all that was accomplished, in this eventful æra. Yet there were many, who renounced the Catholic errors, upon nothing more than speculative conviction: others sought only the liberty of opinion and of worship; others were influenced by political motives; others were carried along by the general movement, without knowing why or whither. And here lies the principal reason, that

the Protestant church at this time, was far from effecting the general diffusion of true religion. The Reformers laboured indeed assiduously and in various ways, to purge the church of the evils arising from this source, Luther, by making provision for the education of children and servants; Melancthon by turning his attention to the schools and universities; Calvin by the strict church discipline which he established in Geneva—a model of ecclesiastical polity.

Their object however was not attained; partly on account of the unsettled state of things produced by the wars of that period, and partly on account of the numerous controversies, in which the Reformers and their successors were engaged amongst each other. In the war which arose out of the league of Schmalcald, Melancthon was obliged to flee to Brunswick, and afterwards to Magdeburg; Bucerus to England; Chytraeus to Tübingen and Heidlebergh. In this unsettled state, it is evident the interests of the church must have materially suffered. But further than this, in the time of Luther, the violent contest between the Lutherans and Reformed had already commenced. Through this controversy the parties were more and more separated, and the study of theology greatly injured, by being directed almost exclusively to the subjects in debate. Besides this, many parties arose, in the bosom of the Lutheran church itself, which estranged the feelings of its members from each other, and fixed their attention upon matters of minor importance. Melancthon especially appears to have felt how seriously these controversies interfered with the advancement of religion. It is known that he was accustomed to write in the *Albums* of his friends, *a contentioso theologo libera nos bone Deus!* a paper was found among his effects, after his death, stating he was glad to leave the world to be beyond the reach of the *rabies theologorum*. Under these circumstances, it is clear that neither theological knowledge, nor true piety could flourish; and this was at

once manifested by the character of the works published at this period.

The reformers had clearly taught, that the exposition of the Scriptures was the foundation of all theological knowledge. But this principle was less and less practically regarded by their followers, especially in the Lutheran church, where the whole activity of the learned was expended in Polemics. Exegesis and Dogmatic were extended no further than the defence of the symbolical books, and were not scientifically studied for their own sake. Exegesis particularly, sunk into neglect. In the beginning of the 17th century, few, if any lectures were read upon this subject in the German Universities. Spener obtained a command from the elector of Saxony, that exegetical lectures should be read in Leipzig; but when Carpzov commenced reading in obedience to this order, he was obliged to desist after the very first lecture, for want of hearers. Spener says, he knew theologians who had been six years at the university, without receiving the least instruction upon this subject. The exegetical books of this period, contained nothing more than the application of the formularies of the church, to the explication of particular passages of the sacred Scriptures. This was, indeed, not always the case, but the exceptions were few. The Dogmatic was as much confined to the path marked out by the symbolical books as the Exegesis. Melancthon's *loci theologici*, were thrown aside, and Luther's *loci communes* filled with scholastic disputations, were adopted in their place. Ecclesiastical History was a defence of Protestantism, and an account of the controversies, between the Calvinists and Lutherans. This department was almost entirely neglected in the 17th century in all the universities, of which Spener loudly complained. The evils of the prevalent system, were peculiarly manifested in the practical part of ministerial duties, and operated

most injuriously on the piety of the common people. Even in the sermons of Luther, there is by far too much of a polemical character, which although it admits of apology, cannot be entirely justified. But in his sermons, there was always a general practical tendency, which became less and less characteristic of those of his followers. The sermons of the 17th century were generally directed against hereties, and to the inculcation of a dry system of morals, although the form of orthodoxy was strictly adhered to. The manner of preaching was equally forced, delighting in uninteresting grammatical remarks, or childish playing upon words. The Pastor Jacob Andriæ published a volume of sermons in four parts, 1568. The first part was devoted to the papistical controversy, the second against the disciples of Zuingli, the third against the followers of Schwenkfeld,* and the fourth against the Anabaptists. Artomedes in Koenigsbergh published eight sermons, in 1598, on the Lord's Supper, filled with the bitterest revilings against the Calvinists. One of these sermons begins thus, "Against the Holy Supper, two bands of the devil are contending, the idolatrous Papists and the concerted Calvinists. Even the poor heathen Ovid was a better theologian than our Calvinists." As an example of the tasteless manner of sermonizing, in this period, we refer to a discourse of Hermann, a preacher in Brieg, in Silecia, upon Zacheus. His text was "he was small in person." He divided his sermon in the following manner:—1st, that little word *he* teaches us, *personae qualitatem*; 2d, the little word *was*, *vitae fragilitatem*; 3d. *small*, *staturae parvitatem*. To the exegetical part of the sermon, followed the practical part, which was commonly equally insipid. Thus

* Schwenkfeld was a Silecian nobleman, born 1490, who separated from the Lutheran church and founded a distinct sect, distinguished by many mystical doctrines. (Tr.)

the application made by Hermann of the text, just mentioned was : 1st that Zacheus, was *informator devarietate operum Dei* 2, *consolator parvorum* ; 3, *adhortator ut defectum nostrum virtute compensemus*. In the polemical discourses the application consisted in the direction of the subject to particular heretics.

Spener also complains greatly of the manner of studying pursued in the Gymnasia. In his *Piis Desideriis*, and in his preface to Dannhauer's *Hodogetic*, he says, that in the schools, Latin alone is studied ; Greek is almost neglected, and Hebrew entirely so. The students proceed to the university without any proper idea of what theology is, which they regard as a mere task for the memory. Prayer, meditation, and a holy walk and conversation are regarded as of little consequence. With respect to the several departments of the course of study, he says, "the philosophy is nothing more than dull scholastic formularies, and yet to this branch, the greatest portion of time is devoted. Philology is almost unknown ; many theologians cannot read the Greek Testament. Thetik or dogmatic in its most restricted sense, is regarded as the most important branch of theology ; the quotation of Scripture-passages in support of doctrines is little resorted to. Exegesis is only studied after the student has become a preacher, and even then no further than to enable him to make out the exposition of his text. Polemics are regarded, as second only to Thetik in importance, although it is difficult to be ever refuting errors when we ourselves know not the truth. And if the necessity of this branch be admitted, it does not follow that every preacher should be a Polemic. Ethics are not taught at all. Homiletik consists merely in scholastic rules, for the logical construction of a sermon.

Thomasius a learned professor of philosophy, published in 1686 a work entitled, "Free ideas pleasant and serious on all kinds of new books ;" in which he gives the following

description of a candidate of theology. "He has studied two years the Aristotelian Philosophy, devoted a third to positive theology, the fourth to scholastic theology, and the fifth to polemic theology. He has held a long disputation on the importance of metaphysics in refuting heretics, is able to prepare a well wrought sermon, with the help of philosophy, logical arrangement and a concordance, and prepare a refutation of that "devilish" book of Richard Simon, ✓ "Critical history of the Old Testament," and is all the while an utter stranger to practical theology.

The better part of the theologians, describe also in dark colours the state of the laity. Thomas Gerhard, a learned and pious theologian, says, "even the most constant attendants in church are very immoral in their lives; yet, if any one questions their christian character, they are ready to commence a legal prosecution against him. Whoever becomes a real christian is stigmatized as a Pharisee,* Weigelian, or Rosencrucian." External religion, or the observance of the rites of the church was greatly overvalued, and even the Lord's Supper was greatly abused. One of the friends of Spener, H. Mueller, complains particularly of what he calls the four dumb idols of the church; the baptismal font, the pulpit, the confessional, and the altar.

SECTION II.

The first controversy against formal orthodoxy, occasioned by the revival of vital piety, through the instrumentality of JOHN ARNDT.

In the period, of which we have been speaking, many voices were heard lamenting over the fall of the church.

* Val. Weigle was a preacher in Tschopau, born 1533. His writings speak much of the "inward light," and anointing which he made the great source of religious knowledge: his views of the Trinity and many other important doctrines are also peculiar. (TR.)

But these complaints, were generally made so cautiously, and were attended with so little exertion to correct the evil, that they produced little effect. The first impression of importance was produced by John Arndt, who died May 6th. 1621. He was pious from his youth. During his stay at the university, he manifested peculiar fondness for exegetical studies, which was then generally the result of real religion. In Helmstadt he privately interpreted the Epistle to the Romans. As soon as he entered upon his office as a clergyman, he began to preach in a biblical manner, especially upon the doctrine of regeneration. This was an exceedingly unpleasant subject to the orthodox, who were accustomed to explain it as nothing more than baptism. Arndt possessed the same mildness and modesty, which adorned the character of Spener, connected with more energy of mind. Neither his excellence, nor his vigilance were however, able to prevent the attacks of his enemies, in which character the orthodox very soon appeared. They complained that he required of men angelic perfection; they accused him of being an Alchymist, and accounted for his liberality, by saying that he had discovered the philosopher's stone, and could therefore well afford to dispense his ill-gotten gold. The preachers in Brunswick publicly warned their hearers, against the poison he was disseminating. After the publication of his book, upon true religion, the opposition became more violent. (This work has been translated into a greater number of languages, than any other human production, with the exception of Thomas a Kempis' Imitation of Christ.) The pulpits in every part of Germany, resounded with denunciations against him and his doctrines. He was pronounced a dangerous heretic, by John Cordinus, a preacher in Danzig. His opposers ridiculed his sermons and writings, and were not ashamed to call this distinguished servant of God, "an ignorant ass." Lucas Osiander wrote in 1623, a long work against him entitled "Theologi-

cal Reflexions and well intended Christian Admonitions." The author accuses Arndt of five distinct and inconsistent heresies; making him a follower of the Pope, of Calvin, of Flaccius, of Schwenkfeld and Weigle. He goes so far as to say, that he had blasphemed the Holy Ghost, in ascribing the work of the Devil to God. Tiburtius Rango, also wrote a book against him, entitled "Christian Prudence, or the method of treating Errorists and Heretics."

Arndt's work however, awakened among all classes, throughout Germany, a spirit of anxious enquiry, and many were found willing to rank themselves among the friends of the author. Among these were two distinguished men, the superintendant Sriver, who died in Magdeburgh 1601, and H. Mueller who died in Rostock 1676. The most important of his followers was Spener, who was principally indebted to his writings for his knowledge of vital piety.

SECTION III.

Spener and his labours.

Spener was born in Alsace in 1635. His parents were pious, and early devoted their son to the sacred ministry. He spent much of his time in reading the Bible, Arndt's "true religion," and a few devotional books in English. Spener pursued his theological studies in Strassbourgh, where he enjoyed the instructions of two distinguished theologians, Danhauer and Sebastian Schmidt. He afterwards studied Hebrew and the Oriental languages with Buxtorf in Basle, and was appointed preacher in Strassbourgh in 1663. In 1666 he received a call to become senior pastor in the city of Frankfort on the Main. This call he referred to the magistrates of Strassbourgh, who decided that he ought to accept it. The first remarkable effect of his labours, which he witnessed, was in 1669. At this time, he preached a

sermon upon the righteousness of the Pharisees, and that of the true children of God, which produced a powerful impression upon the whole city. Many who had been merely formally orthodox, were brought to the true love of Christ, while others declared they would never enter the church again. Spener now appointed those meetings for social worship, which on account of the attention which they excited, and the controversy to which they gave rise, deserved to be particularly noticed. These meetings, which at a later period he held in his own house, were of a conversational character, in which he spoke to the persons present, on the state of religion in their own hearts, questioned them in reference to the exercises of the sabbath, and endeavoured to ascertain how far his public discourses had been understood. As these meetings were very soon attacked, Spener appealed to the Symbolical books and the articles of Schmalcald. In the third part of the 4th article it is said, "Brotherly conversations among the members of the church on the word of God, is an important means of Christian edification." The theological faculties of the several universities, to whom a reference upon this subject had been made, returned answers, merely requiring that nothing should be undertaken in those meetings against the evangelical church. The answer from the university of Kiel was peculiarly favourable. Benedict Carpzov, in Leipzig, afterwards Spener's greatest enemy, early declared himself in their favour. He says in his work "Select moral sentences," "No one can tell how useful these meetings may be, especially when the people have an opportunity of conversing with their Pastor, for it is certain, that many will learn in an hour thus spent, more than they would from ten sermons." After sometime, many of the most respectable inhabitants requested that these meetings should be held in the church. This was accordingly done; but Spener complains, that from this time the blessing which had

attended them ceased: the people were not disposed to converse freely in so public and solemn a place.

The next important effort of Spener in the promotion of piety, was the publication of his *Pia Desideria*, which fell like a spark of fire upon a parched field. If ever a work were written with moderation, humility and love, so as completely to close the mouths of opposers, it was this. That the so called orthodox, became so violent against such a work, is one of the most melancholy exhibitions of the character of this period. In this book Spener says, that those in authority appeared in general to know nothing of real religion, that they seldom did more than endeavour to maintain the form of orthodoxy. That frequently truly pious persons were persecuted—that a reformation among the clergy was absolutely necessary; that as the case then stood, a man could hardly with a safe conscience enter the ministry, that religion was a mere form, that many of the clergy were openly irregular in their lives, that he who required that Christians should walk agreeably to their professions, was denounced as Papist or Quaker, that a most inordinate degree of importance was placed upon learning, that the clergy were regarded as a Priesthood and differed little in their conduct from the Catholic Priesthood, and that there was no paternal connexion between them and the laity. All this Spener said, not in a tone of reproach but of lamentation, and hence it sunk deeply into many hearts. He received innumerable letters filled with expressions of gratitude for benefit derived from his work. Many theologians also at the universities and among others, Carpzov expressed their approbation of this publication. From this time all eyes in Germany were directed towards Spener, and as might be expected, many opponents took the field against him, who accused him of holding antilutheran and heretical principles. Dilefeld, Diaconus in Nordhausen wrote a work against him in 1697. entitled “Theosophia

Horbio-Speneriana.” The passage in Spener’s book which gave most offence, was the declaration that there could be no true knowledge of divine truth, without regeneration. Dilefeld maintained the contrary, and asserted that Spener’s doctrine led to mysticism. Spener defended his opinions in the book “General Theology,” in which he makes the experience of practical religion the foundation of all true theological knowledge.

Gradually the good work which he had effected in Frankford, began to decline, tares became mingled with the wheat, which gave occasion to the good to be evil spoken of. At this period Spener was visited with a sickness, which confined him seven months, and led him to a more thorough knowledge of his own heart, and of divine truth. In 1686 he was called as court Preacher and member of the Upper-Consistory to Dresden. The decision respecting this call, he submitted to the magistrates, who were very desirous of retaining him in Frankford ; but having consulted with several of the clergy whose opinions were in favour of his acceptance, they decided accordingly, and Spener proceeded to Dresden. In his first discourse, he brought forward what was then the most important subject, the difference between a dead and living faith. Within three weeks after his arrival, many were aroused from their former security. Even the elector, who was openly immoral, although strenuous in his orthodoxy, was much affected by his preaching. Spener was entirely free from the pride, which distinguished the clergy of this period, and which led them either to a vain display of their learning, or an exclusive association with the higher ranks of society. They were ashamed to condescend to the humble duties of catechetical instruction. Spener immediately undertook this labour, and saw it crowded with the most obvious blessing. Many of the clergy ridiculed him on this account, and said that the elector had got a schoolmaster instead of a court Preacher. Through

his influence however, this mode of instruction was introduced throughout Saxony. He also induced the Elector, to order that exegetical lectures should be read in the universities. In these and various other ways the changes which he effected were very considerable. In Dresden he had many friends warmly attached to him ; but the elector became gradually discontented with his earnest preaching, and threatened not to attend his church ; a threat he finally executed. Spener at this time took a step, for which he would have been entirely inadequate, if it were not for the assistance of the spirit of God. He was by nature exceedingly timid and bashful, but the grace of God made him bold ; and it is the tendency of all minds, whatever may be their natural temperament to come up to the same standard when influenced by this grace. He undertook to address a serious remonstrance to the elector upon his mode of life. The elector was at this period entirely estranged from him, and never attended his preaching. In 1691 Spener was called to Berlin, as member of the Upper-Consistory and Provost of the church of St. Nicolas. As the elector was desirous to be freed from him, Spener accepted the call. The opposition to him in Saxony, supported by the Prince, was becoming every day more violent. Carpzov wrote two treatises against him, and excited all the clergy to withstand his efforts. The enmity of Carpzov arose partly from envy of the station which Spener occupied, and partly from his disapprobation of the changes which he had introduced. The labours also of Spener were producing an effect in Leipzig with which Carpzov was by no means pleased. Franke, Anton, and Schade who were private teachers attached to the university, began to hold meetings for the practical exposition of the Bible which Carpzov did not approve of.

Spener's influence in Berlin, was still greater than that which he had attained in Saxony. The elector of Brandenburg, although a rough man, was very favourable to the

promotion of religion, and was himself easily impressed by the truth. Spener's most important service was giving a proper direction to the infant university of Halle. Until this period, the Prussian youth frequented principally the university of Wittenburg, where they were filled with a bitter spirit of opposition to the reformed. The elector, who was exceedingly opposed to controversy about unessential points, was very desirous that the two communions should live in peace. To promote this object he wished to found an university within his own territories, and furnish it with professors of a better spirit. Halle was at this time a military academy for noblemen, where Thomasius distinguished by his bold and independent spirit of investigation executed the office of a teacher. Here the elector determined to found his university. In the selection of the professors he submitted principally to the direction of Spener, prescribing only, that they should not be polemics. The providence of God so directed the efforts of Spener, that he succeeded in obtaining pious men to fill these important offices. Breithaupt, senior pastor in Frankford, and Franke, professor of the oriental languages and pastor of the Glaucha church in Halle, were particularly distinguished for their religious zeal. In 1694 the university was fully organized.

Spener wrote many devotional books, excited those in authority to improve the school and church system, received students into his own house, gave regular biblical instructions, and exerted his influence to have proper persons appointed to office. The only trial connected with his situation in Berlin, was the desire of a part of his congregation to separate from his charge. This arose principally from the influence of Dr. Schade, the second preacher in the same church. He was greatly distressed at seeing the numbers who came to the communion, without appearing to be really Christians. His anxiety upon this subject, was such that days before the administration of the ordinance, his peace

was entirely destroyed, and he would spend the night in weeping and prayer. Spenser in vain endeavoured to compose his mind, and remove his difficulties. He very unexpectedly published a most intemperate book upon the subject in which he called the confessional "the seat of Satan," and "the pit of hell." Many theologians espoused his cause; he was however displaced, and Spenser was obliged to join in the effort to effect his removal. Spenser died in 1705 Feb. 5th. The evening before his death he caused the prayer of our Saviour, in the xvii. chap. of John, to be read to him. He had never preached upon this passage of scripture, as he said he could not understand it, and that its contents could not be comprehended in this world. But now said he, I am going where all will be explained.

Spenser was not distinguished for his natural endowments. He had acquired considerable information particularly of a historical kind, as is evinced by his work on Heraldry; but still he was not pre-eminent for learning. He was however, possessed of a clear judgment, by which he discriminated in every department what was of most value, and took an impartial view of every subject. He had none of that force of character which distinguished other reformers. Not impelled by the ardour of his own feelings, he could perhaps the more purely act under the influence of an impulse which came from a purer source: and that he was thus influenced from above, is evident from his great and effectual exertions, notwithstanding the natural softness of his character. This mildness, was in his situation of peculiar importance, as the orthodox from their superior numbers, and power, would have been able effectually to suppress a more virulent opponent. But as it was, all who were not entirely devoted to the opposite party, and especially the elector, was disposed to espouse his cause. Spenser never permitted himself to think that he was acting the part of a reformer. He says in his "answers to cases of conscience:" "I never dreamt of the folly of undertaking a reformation. I am too sensible

of my own weakness, and that I have neither the wisdom nor power, requisite for such a work. I content myself with exciting those to effect the reformation, whom God has called to the work." And in another place he says, "I find a great deficiency in learning, and other qualifications in myself, of which I have abundant reason to be conscious, in the discharge of the ordinary duties of my office; so that I am often ashamed of my inability to give even advice. What should I then do, if I should undertake so great a work? Especially am I deficient in faith, which alas! is so weak, as to be hardly sufficient even in matters of small moment to overcome my natural timidity, much less to make me equal to enterprises, which would require the spirit of a hero; when the Lord will restore his church to its proper state, he will choose far different men than such as I am."

The enemies of Spener opposed him with unexampled virulence. The most important work written against him was "The unanimous judgment of the university of Wittenburg," 1698; or with the fuller title "Christian-Lutheran doctrines according to the word of God and the symbolical books in opposition to Dr. Spener, by the theologians of Wittenburg." In this book two hundred and sixty four heretical expressions are ascribed to Spener, such for example, "that believers are free from all human authority; that in a future world we shall be able, perfectly, to understand the nature of God; that withdrawing from the world promotes peace of mind; that a holy life is necessary to entitle a man to be called a Christian; that we can learn much from the Papists and Quakers; that all baptised persons are not regenerated." The great ground of objection was that Christians were partakers of salvation even in this world. After his death, the expression of disapprobation became still more general, and it was a matter of dispute in the universities whether it was proper to say, *Beatus Spener*. Professor Fecht of Rostock published a book "*De Beatitu-*

dine Mortuorum in Domino," of which he devotes the 34th section to the inquiry whether this blessedness can be predicted of Spener and decides Quod Non.

The influence and example of Spener, called forth the exertions of many others. Prayer-meetings were established in various places. Spener had particularly opposed the ambition of the Lutheran clergy, and defended the rights of the laity, and exhorted them to apply to the Holy Scriptures for instruction. This gave rise to the formation of many private religious meetings, which must be taken into view, in order to form a proper idea of the history of this period. Such meetings were instituted in Augsburgh, Essen and Darmstadt, after Spener had introduced them in Frankford; when he removed to Saxony, they were introduced there also, although with much opposition. In 1686 certain private teachers in Leipzig, as before mentioned, formed a society for reading the Scriptures, and for promoting the study of the original languages of the Bible. In this society the most distinguished members were August. H. Franke, John C. Schade, Paul Anton and Gottfried Arnold. In 1686 Franke visited Dresden, and continued there sometime with Spener, from whom he received a strong desire to engage in the work of promoting true religion among the people. On his return to Leipzig he established a biblical lecture for the students. Schade and others followed his example. These meetings were continued several months, without exciting any attention. But Franke was at last accused of having said that men might be perfect in this world; that philosophy was of little use, and that it was unnecessary to contend against heretics. The students shared in these reproaches, and it was said, that they so far undervalued the instructions of their professors that they burnt the notes they had taken from their lectures. Yet among the learned men of the university, there were some who endeavoured to counteract this opposition, and who maintained

that the term pietism, which had been given in derision, would in its best sense be applied to Franke, and his associates ; of this number was Feller, the professor of eloquence: his poem entitled "the Pietist," which gives a correct exhibition of the spirit of this period is well known. The name pietist from this time, became general in its application to the friends of true religion. In opposition to this name, the adversaries of Spener, assumed that of orthodox. The attention of the court in Dresden was soon attracted to the controversy, and issued in 1689 an order to institute an investigation into what was called "the New Sect." Franke and Schade were called to undergo an examination and many witnesses were summoned against them. Nothing however was testified to their disadvantage. The university therefore, informed the court, that nothing improper had there occurred. Thomasius was particularly active in the defence of Franke. Nevertheless, Franke was forbidden to continue his lectures, and in 1690 was called away from Leipzig upon private business. Schade was still permitted to pursue his course of biblical instructions, which were attended by about a hundred hearers. Some of the citizens wished to attend these lectures, but as they were intended only for the students, and as disorder might arise from their attendance, Schade discouraged it. The citizens, therefore, formed a society for themselves in which it must be acknowledged, that much that was irregular occurred, and gave rise to a new alarm. In 1690 therefore all such meetings were forbidden. The university of Wittenburg united with that of Leipzig, in sending a petition to the elector for the entire suppression of pietism. In consequence of this petition, rules and regulations were adopted worthy of a popish hierarchy. All was now suppressed, the pietistical students were obliged to relinquish their *stipendia* and were given to understand, that those who attended any meetings for devotional purposes, should receive no appointment to any office.

The testimonials for good conduct, due to them from the universities were also withheld. But in order not to be unjust to the opposite party, we ought to inquire whether much which was really fanatical, had not occurred in the meetings complained of. This is in itself not improbable, but if any thing of this kind had really taken place, we should expect, that some distinct statement of the fact would appear in the official records of the investigations which were instituted by the public authorities. But these records contain no allegations against the pietists of this nature; they contain no charges which are not either evidently founded upon perversions, or for preaching what we believe to be purely evangelical. A student by the name of Lange, is particularly mentioned, to whom the pulpit was for some time forbidden. In hopes of his reformation he was again permitted to preach, and selected for his text Romans viii. 3. In his sermon he said "that a penitent heart will perceive a light in itself, by which it will be led to acknowledge Jesus, as its greatest good, in heaven and earth, and burn and beat with love." For such fanatical expressions as these, the pulpit was again forbidden. It was particularly objected to the pietistical students that they presented themselves, as models of christian character, which was regarded as a great breach of modesty. Christianity was then considered as something merely speculative, not to be applied to the character and conduct of every individual. This controversy gave rise to many publications. In 1691, Benedict Carpzov published a treatise, in which he styled the defence of Franke "a sinful book." In another treatise published in 1695 he went so far as to call Spener "*procellam Ecclesiæ*," "*turbinem religionis*," "*tempestatem pacis*," and even "a disciple of Spinoza."

Beyond the limits of Saxony, we also find that strenuous opposition was made to the religious movement of the day. In Erfurdt the elector of Mayence, forbade under a penalty

of a fine of a hundred dollars, every meeting for prayer and reading the Bible. The professor Majus in Giessen, had been accustomed to hold such meetings with some of the students, for which he was so seriously attacked by his colleagues, that he was obliged to claim the protection of the magistrates. In Jena professor Sagittarius undertook the defence of Franke, and said that Pietism was nothing more than vital christianity. On which account the elector John George III., wrote to the duke of Weimar, that he had a disorderly professor of theology, whom he ought to visit with merited punishment. In Wolfenbützel several preachers had united to read the Bible—the duke sent them word, that if they did not discontinue their meeting they should be deposed. But in Hamburg, more than in any other place, was the violence of this opposition to true religion manifested. (We mention particular cases in order to give a more impressive exhibition of the spirit of this period.) The author of the opposition in Hamburg, was the learned John F. Meyer, who had been at an earlier period a professor of theology in Wittenburg, whence he removed to Hamburg, and from thence to Griefswalder, where he died. He, as many other of the orthodox, praised Spener, as long as they themselves were left undisturbed. But when Spener, in virtue of his office, as counsellor in the Upper-Consistory at Dresden, admonished him on account of the inconsistency of his life with his orthodox principles, the hatred of this wrathful and arrogant man, became unspeakably violent against him. It was natural, therefore, that he would oppose himself to the efforts made by Spener and his friends. In Hamburg there were two or three ministers, more or less favourable to pietism. Horbius, brother-in-law to Spener, Winkelman the learned editor of the Koran, and Winkler. When Meyer perceived that they were inclined to Spener's principles, his enmity arose against them, which he endeavoured to vent in the following manner. He drew up an agreement or declaration, to be

signed by the preachers in Hamburg, containing a condemnation of all lax theology ; a profession of adherence to the standards of the church ; a rejection of the doctrine of the Millenium in all its forms and a condemnation of the works of Jacob Boehme. (Spener did not utterly proscribe the writings of Boehme, and with regard to the Millenium he only wished to exclude the grosser and more worldly ideas, often connected with the doctrine.) Horbius would not subscribe this declaration, for although he said he considered the doctrine of the Millenium an error, he was not prepared to condemn all who adopted it. The dispute arising from this source widened the breach between the parties. An innocent circumstance contributed to increase the difficulty. Poiret, a mystic of the Netherlands, had written a little work upon the education of children, called "the Wisdom of the Just." This book with the exception of a few mystical expressions, is throughout evangelical. Horbius presented it as a new-years gift, to the parents in his congregation. Meyer immediately published the following little work against him : "A hastily composed warning for the city of Hamburg, founded upon the word of God." He represented the book distributed by Horbius, as containing seven distinct heresies. Socinianism, Arminianism, Quakerism, Schwenkfeldianism, Weigelianism, Popery, and Petersenism. He complained that not content with recommending the Lord's Prayer as useful for children, the author had attached the following remarks to the recommendation. First, that God must be praised in the heart ; second, that the heart must testify its sincerity, by obedience ; third, that the grace of God must nourish the soul ; fourth, must free us from past sins ; fifth, and preserve us from sinning in future. The blinded zealot then exclaims, that it was degrading the word of God and a calumny against it, to attach such conditions to its use. His pharisaical pride and want of charity, induced him to endeavour to have Horbius immediate-

ly displaced. The magistrates wishing to assist the latter out of the difficulty, advised him to give them an explanation. He accordingly declared his entire satisfaction with the doctrines of the symbolical books, and promised he would not recommend the work of Poirer any further, but would advise those to whom he had given it, to discontinue using it. This was far from satisfying Meyer. He informed the magistrates that he felt in conscience bound to preach against Horbier, as an archdeceiver and fanatic. He called the three clergymen mentioned above, "lying prophets and priests of Baal." The people took part with the orthodox, who made the way to heaven as easy as the Catholics. They surrounded Horbier when coming out of church, shouting quaker, fanatic, enthusiast, and endeavoured to overturn his carriage and assailed him with abusive language. Meyer preached against him and endeavoured to present him in a ridiculous light to the people. The innocent Horbier was at length obliged as a criminal to fly by night from the orthodox Lutheran city of Hamburg. It is worthy of remark that the reformed never went to such extremes; they retained more piety and more learning than the Lutherans.

SECTION IV.

The struggle of piety against the orthodox, proceeding from the university of Halle.

We have already described, the low state of learning at this time in the universities. The state of religion was not more favourable. It was rare to meet with any who connected prayer with their studies, or who read the Bible with any proper feeling of their need of its precious doctrines. Heinrich Mueller of Rostock, in a letter written in 1695.

says, "We wish to heal Babel; oh that she was willing to be healed! The physicians must proceed from the universities, but alas! how many universities are Babels themselves, and are not willing to be healed. When I think of the dreadful state of these institutions, my heart sinks within me." In Giessen, John G. Arnold was professor of Ecclesiastical History. He earnestly desired to promote the revival of true religion. But the rough unbridled and worldly-minded temper of the students, affected him so much that he said he could no longer bear to look on hundreds of the future shepherds of souls, who had never felt the least concern for their own. He therefore resigned his office, a step which cannot be justified, since what is impossible with men is possible with God; and a favourable change actually very soon took place.

When this melancholy state both of religion and learning was thus widely extended, God erected through the agency of Spener, an altar in Halle for true theological knowledge, not mere empty trifling speculations on the form of doctrines. Three men were called to this university from whom this new spirit proceeded; Franke, Breithaupt and Anton.

A BRIEF VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF A. H. FRANKE.

He was born in 1663 in Lubeck; as early as his tenth year he had serious religious impressions. When a child he used to pray, that God would place him in that situation in which he could be most entirely devoted to his service. In 1679 he went to the university, of Kiel, where he enjoyed the society of professor Korthold. In 1682 he went to Hamburg, in order to study Hebrew with the famous proselyte Edzardi. In 1684 he proceeded to the university of Leipzig and united himself with those private teachers of theology, who felt as he did, upon the subject of religion. But at this time he knew nothing of the essence of real Christian-

ity. He has left us a history of his religious experience, which is published in the work edited by Knapp and Niemeyer: "Institutions of Franke," vol. ii. p. 420. He gives the following narrative of his feelings. He says his attention was first particularly arrested by reflecting upon the nature of theology. It occurred to him, that there should be a coincidence, between the feelings and objects of the theologians of the present time, and those of the apostles. But when he compared his feelings and objects with those of the first servants of Christ, he discovered that they were entirely different, that he was actuated only by a desire of worldly honor and learning. He determined therefore, to follow more faithfully the example of the apostles. During this period he appeared to himself, as a child endeavouring to contend with a giant. Having torn himself from all the pleasures of the world, he went to Luneburg. Here after a few weeks he was invited to preach upon John xx. 31. "These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name." By meditating on the passage, he found that although he did not doubt the truths of the gospel, he did not believe them with his whole heart. This produced a struggle which became constantly more and more distressing, until at length he was brought to question not only the divinity of Christ, but the very existence of God. His peace was effectually destroyed, and he determined not to preach in the state of mind in which he then was. In the greatest agony he uttered the prayer, "If there be a God and Saviour let him manifest his existence, that I may be delivered from this misery which I cannot longer sustain." After this prayer, he experienced such a peace of mind, and so much joy, that all his doubts vanished and he preached with a conviction of the truth to which he had before been a stranger. After obtaining this living faith in Christ, he visited Dresden and after remaining there two months with Spener, he went to Leipzig and commenced

his lectures upon the Bible. When the difficulties arose there he removed to Erfurdt, and became the pastor of one of the congregations of that city. He proceeded upon the principles of Spener, and instituted religious meetings among his people. This occasioned a persecution from his colleagues and the magistrates, and he was ordered to leave the town within two days. It was a remarkable interposition of Providence, that upon the very day upon which he received this command and knew not where to go, he received the invitation of Spener to join him in Berlin. He went, and took up his abode in Spener's house, and in a few days was appointed to his station in Halle.

Paul Anton the second theologian, mentioned above, was one of those who had visited Spener in Frankford, and there received his first serious impressions. In Leipzig whither he afterwards went he took part in the biblical lectures. From Leipzig he was called to Eisennach as court preacher, and afterwards to Halle as professor and consistorial councillor. Breithaupt also first received his impressions from Spener in Frankford. In Erfurdt he was a colleague of Franke; and formed an intimate friendship with him. These three men formed the theological faculty in Halle until 1709. In this year two others were added to their number of the same sentiments, although perhaps less zealous and less distinguished for talents. These were John H. Michaelis and Joachim Lange. The course pursued by this faculty, both in reference to the mode of teaching, and their manner of acting towards the students, was different from that adopted by any other. In both these respects they followed the views of Spener notwithstanding the outcry of the theologians of Saxony. We shall attend to their plans in reference to learning, and then to the practical part of their labours. The divine blessing notwithstanding all opposition, manifestly attended their efforts. The desire of such a mode of instruction as they adopted, was so generally felt, that notwithstanding the great

name of the university of Wittenburg: the number of students received at Halle from 1694 to 1721 amounted to 6032.

The chief object of Franke's attention, was exegesis, and hermeneutic. In almost all his lectures he referred to these subjects. As early as the year 1693 he published his *Manuductio ad lectionem Scripturæ Sacræ*: a work which has been often reprinted. In 1695 he commenced his *Observationes Biblicæ*, which were continued for a series of years. In this work he displayed the greatest boldness in exhibiting and correcting the errors of the Lutheran interpretations. It was furiously attacked by Dr. Meyer in a book entitled "on the work of A. H. Franke, that attempt of the Devil still further to injure the every where persecuted church." Franke however, was not deterred from continuing his work. His principles of interpretation were adopted and cultivated by others, especially by his pupil J. J. Rambach in his *Institutiones Sacræ Hermeneuticæ*. Franke also raised the miserably degraded and neglected study of the oriental languages. He founded the *Collegium Orientale* in which the more advanced students had an opportunity of exercising themselves in these languages.

Breithaupt was engaged in the Dogmatic. He published two systems, one larger and the other smaller, upon an entirely different plan from the scholastic method of Hutter's text book. These works and Freilinghausen's "Foundation of Theology," had great influence in promoting the study of the Bible.

The Moral was entirely neglected by the orthodox. The school of Calixt pursued this subject in a very unprofitable manner, as they considered it as distinct from the Dogmatic, with which it is as intimately connected, as the effect with the cause, or the blossoms with the tree. The theologians of Halle proceeded upon the principle, that all Christian virtues are the result of living faith in God, and thus took the proper ground for viewing the whole subject. They were

particularly led to the investigation of the ἀδιαφορα or things indifferent. The orthodox had permitted the Moral to sink to the mere heathenish form of rules of duty. They confined their attention to gross and open sins, paying little regard to those which consist in a state of mind not conformed to the gospel standard. They were thus led to maintain that many things, in the Christian life, were perfectly indifferent and did not come within the view of a teacher of morals. In this class they included all the common occupations of life, eating, drinking, playing, dancing. The school of Spener, on the other hand taught, that nothing was indifferent; that the most common things may assume a moral character, their being good or evil depending on the state of mind in which they are performed.

Paul Anton read upon Polemics, which was then considered too important a subject, to admit of its being excluded from a regular course. He, however, in a beautiful and useful manner, endeavoured to show how every heresy arose from the corrupt fountain of the heart. He said we must regard those who have departed from the faith, as diseased, and ourselves as labouring under a different form of the same great malady. When we endeavour to correct the errors of men as diseases, we shall do it after the true Christian manner.

Ecclesiastical history was at this period neglected, although Spener and Franke had very correct views of its importance. The efforts of this school in regard to the Homiletic are peculiarly worthy of attention. The perverted method of preaching of the 17th century had become more fixed and deduced to rule in the beginning of the eighteenth. The text was first grammatically, historically and polemically explained and then in a five-fold manner practically applied. This five-fold application, however, among the orthodox was generally nothing more than so many attacks upon the followers of Spener. The preacher indulged in the most silly metaphors and triflings, and dissipated the whole power of

the discourse in a multitude of subtle divisions. Carpzov in his *Homiletic*, gives an hundred different methods of arranging the body of a sermon. Some of these methods, have particular names, as the Koenigsburg method, the Leipzig method &c. The preachers became emulous to present the greatest possible variety, in the manner of discussing the same text. The most skilful made out to give sixty distinct methods. Spener endeavoured to oppose this kind of trifling, but his own manner of preaching was dry. The efforts of Franke and Freilinghausen were more successful. They recalled the principles of Luther, particularly such as that contained in the following passage : "when I preach in Wittenburg I descend from my elevation. I do not regard the doctors and teachers who may happen to be present, who cannot amount to more than forty, but the young people, the children and servants ; it is to them I address myself, and regulate my discourse according to their wants. If the others do not like it, the door is always open." Franke referred to these and similar expressions in his *Paranaetic* lectures and expresses himself in the following excellent manner "we should not be orators but fathers. Preachers should be like those trees, which although fully grown, spread out their branches and let them droop upon the ground, that those who cannot ascend them, may yet reach their fruit. It is a peculiarly injurious principle, that we must accommodate ourselves to our learned hearers. When our Saviour had the Pharisees before him, he had also learned auditors, but he addressed them in the simplest manner possible."

We must also notice the lectures to which we have just referred. These *Paranaetic* lectures, were devoted to the discussion of the difficulties and aids for the study of theology, Franke commenced them in 1693. At first he had very few hearers, but the number rapidly increased, and at last upon the hour in which he read, all the other professors omitted their lectures. In the preface to the second part of these lec-

tures, he says that he had never seen so visible a blessing attending any of his university labours, as these discourses; because in them he could be more pointed and personal. He had no fixed plan, but selected what ever subject appeared best adapted to the state of students. He sometimes discussed the character of particular books, or single passages of them; at others the subjects were more practical, as the difference between a mere knowledge of the doctrines of salvation and a living faith in them, the fear of men, the nature of conversion, &c. &c. He published two volumes of these lectures in 1726-7 and his son published the remainder in five parts in 1736. Franke held also devotional meetings on the sabbath afternoon, in which he delivered discourses upon the duties of ministers as servants of the church. He preached in rotation with the other professors in the university church, and regularly for one of the congregations in the town. He held prayer meetings in the orphan-house on Wednesdays and Saturdays, the great object of which he said was to guard the students against permitting their studies turning their hearts from the "one thing needful." Besides these various efforts to promote religion, the professors had weekly meetings which the students were at liberty to attend, and consult their teachers as fathers upon any subject on which they wished advice, such as the means of their support, difficulties in their studies, the state of their hearts, &c. The professors also united for prayer and mutual counsel, that they might so regulate their conduct as to become models for their students.

Various institutions were founded in order to increase the salutary influence exerted by the university. Such was the orphan-house with its various schools, which Franke designed as a nursery of true piety and a means of supporting the students, by affording them an opportunity of acting as teachers. The number of scholars increased so much in this establishment, that two thousand received instruction, six hun-

dred were supported, and a hundred and thirty students of the university employed in teaching. Connected with the orphan house, was an extensive book-store designed principally to circulate pious books at the lowest possible prices. The profits were all devoted to the institution. Besides this was the Bible institution founded by the Baron of Canstein for the same purpose. This institution has printed and circulated 1, 700, 000 copies of the Scriptures and 900, 000 copies of the New-Testament. Books were also printed in the Ethnish, Lattish, Russian, and Malabar languages. A missionary institution was also founded with a particular reference to the Malabar coast, and at a later period a missionary society for the Jews. Through the information circulated by these institutions and the residence of missionaries in Halle, the desire of promoting the spread of the gospel was greatly increased among the students. Franke lived to see the fruit of his labours. He says in reference to this subject that he had enjoyed the happiness to see, in a threefold respect, the effect of his efforts. First, in the real conversion of many of the students, who gave up the riches and honours of the world, and who were little disturbed even by its contempt. Second, that the students in their intercourse with each other manifested a holy Christian love in submitting to each other and living for their mutual advantage. Third, that in their walk and conversation they were an example to the inhabitants of the town, many of whom by their means were brought to the knowledge of true religion. And besides this, that after leaving the university, many of them had the happiness of producing revivals in their congregations; that those who had been fellow students united themselves when in office to work conjointly in doing good; and that by their means, many formal preachers were aroused from their slumbers. Franke, however, complained towards the close of his life, that the good work appeared to be declining. In one of his lectures in 1709 he remarks how different the students then

were, from what they had been some years previous. "By this time" (about the middle of August this lecture was delivered) he says, "the seed sown in the spring began to make the fields green. For after the students who entered the university at Easter, had been here a quarter of a year, their hearts began to be affected, and they would come to us to declare the effect the truth had produced upon their hearts." After the death of Franke, his influence was long continued, partly by the institutions which he had founded, and partly by the men who had more or less imbibed his spirit; among these were Benedict Michaelis, Gottlieb Franke, the younger Freilinghausen, the elder Kuapp, Callenberg, and Siegmund Baumgarten. It may also be said that Franke's influence was perpetuated by the Moravians, as it was from him and Spener that Zinzendorf derived the idea of founding this society.

SECTION V.

The fanaticism which connected itself with this revival. *mu;*

In great revivals of religion, it is almost always the case that perversions and abuses occur. The truth is always attended by error. Two kinds of errors are in such seasons peculiarly common, Fanaticism and Hypocrisy. Fanaticism proceeds from a pure excitement which gradually comes under the dominion of the imagination. The most beneficial truths are then caricatured, and if the heart be not sanctified it avails itself of the truths, thus deformed, to cover and justify its evils. It also often happens, that unconverted men, coming in contact with the truth are deeply affected by it, but not being willing to give up their former opinions and modes of thinking, endeavour to unite them with the gospel, and are thus led into various fanatical errors.

In the time of Spener the excitement was almost universal; the greater perhaps on account of the preceding coldness.

REVIVALS

When Spener said the Laity were the "Christian Priesthood," and should be allowed greater influence in the church, a real and genuine anxiety about divine things was excited, which in some instances was perverted. This perversion was partly intellectual and partly practical. <The first indication of a fanatical spirit, was the appearance in various places of persons pretending to be inspired, and to be illuminated, with a better and more perfect knowledge of divine truth than that contained in the Bible.> The first examples of this kind occurred in Halberstadt and Quedlinberg. Circumstances similar to those, which have more recently been ascribed to animal magnetism, are said to have attended the exercises of these people. Many young clergymen and others, visited the persons thus affected, as though they were the most decisive and conspicuous examples of the influence of the Holy Spirit. Spener manifested upon this occasion, his usual moderation. He advised that no notice should be taken of these people, and that no attempt should be made to put them down by authority. He said he would not undertake to say, that it was the work of the Spirit, nor was he prepared to pronounce it the work of the flesh. The most injurious consequence, was, that many distinguished men, by their writings, turned the public attention in this direction, instead of leading the people to attend to their own hearts. Such for example was Dr. Petersen, a man of distinguished talents who had studied theology and became professor of Eloquence in Rostock. He not only read the works of Spener, but those of Lehtel, Jacob Bohme and Breckling, which gave him a tendency to fanaticism. Spener had adopted in its purer form the doctrine of the Millenium, and comforted himself with contemplating the period when the kingdom of God, would be purified from every evil. Petersen seized upon this idea, and carried to an extravagant length, teaching the doctrine of the ἀποκατάστασις, or final restoration of all things. His wife also who shared

in his fanatical principles, gave herself out for a prophetess, and published several books. Others of these pretended inspired persons, spoke of the kingdom of a thousand years, which Petersen appealed to, as a proof that the doctrine must be true. He had many other peculiar opinions, as for example;—that the Son of God before his incarnation assumed a body of light—a nature between God and man. He was at last deprived of his office, and removed to the neighbourhood of Magdeburg and died 1727.

Another distinguished man of this class was Gottfried Arnold, the ecclesiastical historian. He was mentioned above, as taking part in the Biblical lectures in Leipzig. He had been led by Spener into the right way. He amassed a great store of learning, as is evinced by his works. He was appointed professor in Giessen and as already related, resigned his office on account of the character of the students. In 1707 he became a preacher in Perleberg and died 1714. His influence, through his writings was remarkably great. He wrote among others the following works. “The first Love, or description of the early Christians,” a book still of much value; “Martyrology, or history of the first martyrs.” “The history of the church and of heresy,” 2 vols. 4to. A learned work, but too much a defence of these heresies. “Homilies of St. Makareus,” “The Secrets of Divine Wisdom,” “The lives of the Patriarchs,” “History and description of Mystical Theology.” He always insisted upon the conversion of the heart, as the principal point in religion, but lost sight of the doctrine of Redemption, and embraced more and more an ascetic system recommending celibacy and retiring from the world.

John Conrad Dippel. This extraordinary man, studied theology and was at first strenuously orthodox. He early turned his attention to mystical subjects, as Alchemy and Chiromancy. Through the writings of Spener he became acquainted with true religion, but embraced the doctrines

without feeling their power. He at last became an unbeliever and devoted to superstition, giving himself up to Alchemy, exorcism, and the art of finding hidden treasures. He not only denied the Trinity, but the personality of God, and was greatly instrumental in scattering the seeds of infidelity and scepticism. He appears gradually to have embraced an obscure system of Pantheism. The principal objects of his hostility, were the doctrines of the Trinity and Justification, with regard to both of which, however, he retained the usual expressions employing them in an entirely different sense from that commonly attached to them.

Ernest Christian Hochmann, another of the fanatics of this period, seems to have had much more serious feeling than the one last mentioned. In 1699 he published a circular letter to the Jews, exhorting them to repentance. He travelled about with a great deal of pomp, professing to exercise magical arts. He was put into prison, and when liberated, resided principally in the district of Hanover. In a confession of faith, which he published, he explained the Trinity as three different names of the Deity; declared baptism and the Lord's Supper unnecessary symbols, and that men must be perfect. The principal seat of fanaticism at this time, was in Berleburg and Schwarzenau, in the territory of Count Casimir of Wittgenstein, who invited the fanatics to fix their residence in these places. Dippel was in connexion with this society in the latter part of his life, and thence spread abroad his doctrines. Another was John H. Haug of Strassbourg. He was particularly remarkable for his knowledge of the Oriental Languages. Dr. Carl, a man of considerable learning, also belongs to this class, and lastly Frederick Rock, a shoemaker who was by no means an ordinary man. He was the chief of the inspired who formed themselves into a distinct sect. The works of these fanatics, which produced the greatest effect, were the two following: The first the Berleburg Bible, a translation of the Scrip-

tures and remarks, by Haug, in seven folio volumes. This work manifests no little talent and learning, but the interpretations are generally made upon very false principles, and the remarks are filled with the doctrines of the Mystics. The second work was the *Spiritual Fama*, a periodical work principally under the direction of Dr. Carl. Its object was to communicate all the new occurrences in the kingdom of God, which it presented in a form best adopted to effect the imagination, making every thing a wonder.

This fanaticism was most extravagant in two sects, one of which, derived its name from a woman called Ursula Maria Butler, and her daughter. This sect was distinguished by many mystical doctrines, as the necessity of separating the soul from the influence of every thing external, withdrawing from the world, the indifference of outward actions if the heart was turned to God, &c. This latter principle, as might be expected, led to the greatest licentiousness, and the sect sunk into the worse form of the Carpocratian doctrine. Their chief seat was in Paderborn in Westphalia. Their founder was publicly executed in 1705. The other sect was that of Ronsdorf in the dutchy of Berge. Its founder was Elias Eller, a riband-weaver. This man began his course by devoting himself to the study of the Apocalypse. His wife seconded all his views. They published an explanation of some of the predictions of this book, making themselves the principal personages, alluded to in the prophecy. They said that the new kingdom of God was at hand, that the New Jerusalem was to be founded at Ronsdorf, and that they were appointed to be the leaders. These pretensions, they endeavoured to support by various artifices, and succeeded in bringing many persons under their influence. Eller appealed particularly, to the prosperous state of the congregation in their external affairs. The town enjoying the favour of the Prussian government, rapidly increased in business, and population. Eller was proclaimed

Burgomaster, and made the representative of the Reformed, in the province of Cleve and Berge. By this means he obtained an influence with the government, which enabled him to come out with boldness, and add fraud to his fanaticism. He now declared himself the Vicar of Jesus Christ, to his congregation; when he went out he caused the cry to be made before him, Hosanna to him who comes in the name of the Lord. He had two velvet thrones, for himself and wife, erected in the church over the seat of the magistrates. He commanded the people to pray to God, in his name, if they wished their prayers to be heard. His children, he said, were to rule in the kingdom of God, and he required them to be worshipped. In secret he gave himself up to intemperance and vice. There were two clergymen belonging to the village at this time, the one whose name was Wulffing, was of a hypocritical disposition, and co-operated fully with Eller in all his views. All that he publicly preached, he told the people privately was meant to apply to Eller. The other preacher was Schleiermacher. He was at first blinded by this deceiver and dared not oppose him. But his eyes were gradually opened, and upon a certain Sabbath, he preached a sermon upon the words, Thou art weighed in the balance, and found wanting. This sermon set every thing into commotion. Eller however, had art enough, to make it believed that the preacher was bewitched, and the tyranny was such that no one dared to apply to him for the discharge of any of his ministerial functions. He was at last attacked in his house, plundered, and driven with his family out of the town. This brought the whole nest of iniquity to light. Eller died however, before any thing could be undertaken against him, in 1700; Wulffing was deposed and died in misery, although with hypocritical joy and satisfaction.

SECTION VI.

*The spirit of legal righteousness and hypocrisy which
connected itself with this Revival.*

Hypocrisy, is a pretending to something we do not possess. It may arise either from design, or from self-deception. The former adopts the form of external sanctity, to obtain certain ends, and is only found where religion is respected. The latter may exist among formal as well as real Christians. Among the former it occurs, when persons who have no real experience of religion in their own hearts, being brought into contact with real Christians, adopt their language which they use in a very different sense, and yet imagine themselves to feel all that this language is intended to express. Among real Christians, it exists, when they continue the observance of forms, or the use of expressions which are no longer expressive of the real state of their feelings. Both kinds of hypocrisy are often found in connexion with true revivals of religion; and it argues great ignorance of the subject, when on this account such revivals are condemned as evil. In the period of which we are speaking, intentional hypocrisy occurred most frequently, at the courts of those Princes who were favourable to piety. Of this number was Henry II. of Reuss, the Count of Stolberg-Wernegeroda, Duke Ernest of Saalfeld, Prince Augustus of Mecklenburgh, and the king of Denmark. Not only clergymen, but also laymen, found that they could more easily obtain advancement, in these courts, when they adopted the language of Christians. Under these circumstances, it is not wonderful that many would adopt this language, without any real piety. This was particularly the case at the court of Wernegeroda: the Count was no sooner dead, than the whole court assumed a different tone. The same was also the case in that of the Duke of Saalfeld. Semler says,

that his father who was preacher at this court, was at first not inclined to accommodate himself to its religious tone, but when he was to be sent to the University in order to secure a stipend for him, his father saw fit to adopt the prevalent phraseology. Even in the University at Halle, there was a temptation to the same evil. Whenever the students wished to obtain places in the gift of the Professors, they adopted the language which they knew would most effectually recommend them.

Secondly, The hypocrisy arising from self-deception. Instances of this kind of deception, may be remarked in the history of the University of Halle, both among the professors and students. Of this, the otherwise highly respectable Professor Baumgarten appears to have been an example. This man who appeared to live a pious life, seems yet not to have had that decided experience of religion which distinguished his colleagues. Study seems to have rendered him cold and indifferent to more vital subjects ; yet, he adopted the pious languages and usages of those around him. In the latter part of his life, however, he departed considerably from both. With respect to the students, it is clear from the lives of Michaelis, Semler and Noesselt, that they used the expressions most expressive of religious experience, when possessing nothing more than a general respect for the subject. It seems also that the terms, *converted*, *regenerated*, and the like, were often applied to those who were merely moral and respectful in their department.

In every considerable revival, the excitement assumes something of a peculiar individual character. The character of the revival produced by Spener may be viewed in a three-fold light. First, in reference to the language and modes of expression adopted. These were throughout biblical and adapted to the age. Among the Moravians as among the Catholics, this was not so much the case, as their language is more mystical, and more accommodated to the

New Platonic Philosophy. Secondly, in reference to the means of edification. These consisted principally in meetings for reading the Scriptures, prayer and singing; making the Bible a constant companion and adviser; regular family worship, and frequent attendance upon church. All this is according to the Scriptures. Among the Moravians, as in the class meetings of the Methodists, there were departures from the examples set us in the Bible; but it must be remarked that on account of the change of circumstances, it is not to be expected that every thing of this nature, can always be regulated precisely according to the Scripture model. Thirdly, in reference to the form which the Spirit of Christian enterprise assumed. This was marked negatively by the rejection of all amusements, expensive either of time or money; by an anxious desire to prevent learning gaining an ascendancy over piety in the hearts of the students, and by discountenancing every thing inconsistent with the greatest simplicity and moderation in all the habits of life. Positively, by a constant desire to win souls to Jesus Christ, zeal to promote the Gospel among the Jews and Heathens, and the erection of benevolent and pious institutions.

It will be instructive, to examine how far in all these three respects, perversions and abuses occurred. First, in regard to the language. Franke and Spener are by no means chargeable, with laying upon this point too much importance. They freely acknowledged what was good in the writings of the mystics, although the language in which it was conveyed was entirely different from that which they had adopted. But the followers of these good men, are in many cases open to the accusation, of having had a partial and exclusive fondness, for their own peculiar phraseology. Gotthilf, Franke and Bogatzky, are marked examples of this. They rejected too freely the language of the Moravians, and, condemned unnecessarily many ex-

pressions of the orthodox school, which they said, sounded too *morally*. The same was the case with the language of the mystics. From this arose, among other Christians, a great dislike to what was called the Halle phraseology. In regard to the means of edification, it cannot be denied that there were many abuses. Too much stress was laid upon private meetings for devotion, and upon always mingling religion in common conversation, which gave rise to a great deal of hypocrisy. In Halle it was often the case that from the desire of bringing young men just arrived at the University to the knowledge of religion, they were called upon to attend all the devotional meetings. Too much nourishment produced satiety. Many who attended these exercises had no real love to religion, and were therefore, rather repulsed than attracted by this frequency. This excess of meetings, was peculiarly great upon the Sabbath. There was a devotional meeting, in the morning, for the citizens, another in the after-noon in the houses of the Professors, and in the evening in private families, besides three regular services in the church. The spirit of devotion could not easily be sustained, through all this. The exegetical lectures also were always more or less practical and devotional. The students found it difficult to pursue their studies, and if they omitted any of the meetings, with a view of gaining more time for this purpose, they were looked upon with an evil eye. In some places, it was carried so far, that threats and stratagems, were employed to secure the attendance of the young people. Semler says, that when he was a student in the Gymnasium in Saalfeld, he was induced by threats and cunning to attend these meetings, and as soon as he had done so congratulations were sent to his father, upon his conversion. The duty of prayer also was often made too mechanical. The orthodox party were accustomed to written forms, but the Halle school recommended extempore prayer. This

was soon abused, and the ability to make a long extempore prayer, was regarded as the best evidence of piety. The Duke of Coburg, made the boys in the Gymnasium, pray before him, one after another, to see which of them, were really converted, and worthy of receiving a stipend for the University.——We may also under this head, speak of a perversion, in reference to the character of the inward religious exercises, which arose out of the doctrines of Spener and Franke. These good men, had opposed the view taken of the doctrine of atonement by the orthodox, which allowed a man to live as he pleased and yet hope for its benefits. In Halle, this doctrine and that of the law were united, but without the legal spirit which afterwards gradually arose. When the mode of teaching theology adopted the strict logical form, the religious feelings were also made a matter of rule and the law became more and more predominant. Whilst this legal spirit was gradually gaining the ascendancy in Halle, the Moravians pursued a different course, recommending a simple and exclusive regard to the great doctrines of the cross by which the feelings were continually cherished; in Halle the great motive to every thing was duty, and those who partook most of the evil, of which we are speaking, came at last to consider mere external piety the fulfilling of the commands of the Gospel. With the Moravians, on the other hand, a personal intercourse with the Saviour was required, Christ was to be regarded as the friend of the soul, love to him was to be the source of all duties. This system was doubtless, more conducive to real heart-felt piety.

Abuses also arose out of the principles adopted, with regard to external conduct. It might be expected, from what has been said of the desire of the Halle Professors to render learning subordinate to piety, that learning would sink into disrespect. This, however, at least with them was not the case. They were really learned men, but

the connexion which they affected between learning and religion, was not intimate ; they were learned and pious but their religion, (so to speak,) was not learned. There was a difference in their character, also in this respect, some of them, as Baumgarten, were devoted almost exclusively to learning, whilst others who partook more of the spirit of Spenser, laid upon it less importance. Had they succeeded in making their religion more scientific, it is probable that Semler would not have taken the course which he afterwards pursued. The principles of the Halle teachers, respecting worldly amusements, were, that a Christian who was really desirous of devoting himself to the service of God, could have no time for these amusements, that the command *be not conformed to the world*, which should regulate all the conduct of the Christian, was inconsistent with their enjoyment, and that every thing should be performed with prayer and joyful confidence in God. These principles are purely evangelical, and by no means lead to the universal condemnation of every enjoyment. By the followers of Spenser and Franke, they were carried too far, and perverted. On the one hand these amusements were regarded as more dangerous, than they really were, and on the other, neglecting them, was made a merit of. What Franke had recommended upon evangelical principles, became a legal yoke. Many were excluded from the Lord's Supper, if detected in playing cards or dancing. The Count Henry of Reuss, commanded all the preachers within his territories to act upon this principle ; on the other hand, the orthodox carried their boldness in regard to these subjects, to a great length. An orthodox preacher, published a form of prayer, for card-players, to teach them to pray for success. The Swiss Mystic, Nicholas von der Flühe, expressed himself in the following excellent manner upon this subject, where a gay vain young man, gaudily dressed came to him, and asked him how he

liked him. The wise man answered him, "Is your heart good, so are your clothes good; but if your heart were good you would not wear such clothes." The moderation in the use and enjoyment of the things of this world, recommended by the Pietists, was not monkish, but evangelical. The Elder Knapp was a beautiful example of this Gospel simplicity. Næsselt in his life, says of him with propriety, *vita ejus erat commentatio æternitatis*. Of abuse in this respect we have nothing to remark.

We have said, that the spirit of Christian enterprise, was also marked by an earnest desire to bring others to the knowledge of Christ, not only nominal Christians, but also the heathen. This desire the Moravians richly inherited. In the second generation we notice a two-fold perversion of this feeling. We find in regard to many, it ceased to be a real inward desire, but was regarded as a mere duty, and that they thought they had fulfilled this duty, as far as nominal Christians were concerned, when they had merely introduced religious conversation. And secondly, we remark in many, a spirit of self-sufficiency, which led them to forget, that they could only point out the way, and the gospel was often urged so unseasonably upon careless persons, as to drive them further than ever from religion. In conducting the Missionaries establishments we have nothing in the way of abuse to remark, excepting that some of the latter missionaries renounced the faith and became Deists. It was from these establishments that the distinguished Liegenbalg and Schwarz proceeded who laboured with such success among the Heathen. The Jewish institution conducted by Professor Callenberg, produced the celebrated Missionary Stephen Schulze, a man of distinguished talents and learning, uniting zeal and great self-denial. He rejected every offer of professional preferment, and restricted himself to the life of a mechanic, that he might preach the

Gospel to the Jews. His work entitled "The leadings of God through Europe, Asia, and Africa," contains the results of his observations, made during his twenty years travelling through these countries, and is replete with interesting information. Another manifest action of the spirit of religious activity, which we mentioned, was the erection of orphan houses and asylums for the poor. The Orphan House in Halle was conducted by the elder Freilinghausen and the elder Knapp. Many similar establishments were formed in various parts of Germany, where the students of Halle were settled. No abuse arose from this source.

We close this review, with a few reflexions, which are naturally suggested by the history we have given. The view we have taken of this period, teaches us how the various systems of theology may become hostile to vital piety, not merely unbelief in its diversified forms, but orthodoxy itself and supernaturalism, which assumes a position of hostility whenever it is nothing more than mere speculative knowledge. Of this truth this period affords us remarkable examples. It teaches us further, that the revival of religion and the outpouring of the spirit, as in the days of the apostles, is possible in our times, if Christianity be only properly exhibited in the life, and from the pulpit. And it teaches us also, how great may be the influence of a few pious men. The Halle school spread its doctrines to Sweden, Denmark, and even to Greece. And finally in comparing the revival of this period, with that which exists in our own days, we may remark some points in which the latter has an advantage over the former. It is more guarded from the perversions, which usually attend seasons of religious excitement. Religion is now less restrained, and therefore more variously developed, and is more intimately connected with learning, so that we may hope to see theology

as a science, so regularly constructed and guarded, as to preserve it from those attacks, which proved fatal to the former systems. It is at the same time true, that these advantages, may easily be perverted ; an event which can only be prevented, by our laying to heart, the great lesson taught us by the period under review, which is, that a proper knowledge of the truths of Christianity cannot be obtained, without a sanctified state of the feelings, an experience of their vital influence upon our own hearts. The perversion to which we are most exposed, is, that the knowledge of religion, will come to be regarded, as a mere affair of the intellect, that the truths through which men are to be sanctified and saved will be calmly discussed, as a source of intellectual enjoyment, without being brought into the heart, or made to operate upon the life.

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Preface

TO

THE TRANSLATION OF HOSEA,

By BISHOP HORSELY.

PREFACE,

8c.

HOSEA began to prophecy so early as in the days of the great-grandson of Jehu, Jeroboam, the second of that name, king of Israel; and he continued in the prophetic office in the successive reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah. Since he prophesied not before the days of Uzziah, king of Judah, it must have been in the latter part of Jeroboam's reign, that the word of the Lord first came to him. For Jeroboam reigned in Israel forty-one years in all;* and the accession of Uzziah, king of Judah, was in the 27th year of Jeroboam.† We must look, therefore, for the commencement of Hosea's ministry within the last fourteen years of Jeroboam; and it cannot reasonably be supposed to have been earlier, than a year or two before that monarch's death. For the interval from Jeroboam's death to the commencement of the reign of Hezekiah in Judah, upon the most probable supputation of the corresponding reigns in the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, seems to have been no less than sixty-eight years.‡ If we increase the interval by the last year only of Jeroboam's reign, and the first of Hezekiah's (in the days of both which kings he prophesied,) we shall make a space of no less than seventy years, for the whole duration of Hosea's ministry. And since he was of age to chuse

* 5 Kings xiv. 23.

† xv. 1.

‡ Archbishop Usher makes it no more than 57 or 58. But I am perswaded the death of Jeroboam was seven years earlier, and the accession of Hezekiah three years later, than according to Archbishop Usher's dates.

a wife for himself and to marry, when he first entered upon it, he must have lived to extreme old age. He must have attained his hundredth year at least, if he saw the accomplishment of the judgment, he had been employed to denounce against the kingdom of Israel. But it is probable that he was removed, before that event took place. For, in all his prophecies the kingdom of Samaria is mentioned, as sentenced indeed to excision; but as yet subsisting, at the time when they were delivered.

Inasmuch as he reckons the time of his ministry, by the succession of the kings of Judah, the learned have been induced to believe, that he himself belonged to that kingdom. However that may be, for we have no direct information of history upon the subject, it appears, that whether from the mere impulse of the divine Spirit, or from family connections and attachments, he took a particular interest in the fortunes of the sister kingdom. For he describes, with much more exactness than any other prophet, the distinct destinies of the two great branches of the chosen people, the different judgments impending on them, and the different manner of their final restoration; and he is particularly pathetic, in the exhortations he addresses to the ten tribes. It is a great mistake, however, into which the most learned expositors have fallen, and it has been the occasion of much misinterpretation, to suppose, that "his prophecies are almost wholly against the kingdom of Israel:" or that the captivity of the ten tribes is the immediate and principal subject, the destiny of the two tribes being only occasionally introduced. Hosea's principal subject is that, which is the principal subject indeed of all the prophets; the guilt of the Jewish nation in general, their disobedient refractory spirit, the heavy judgments that awaited them, their final conversion to God, their re-establishment in the land of promise, and their restoration to God's favour, and to a condition of the greatest national prosperity, and of high pre-eminence

among the nations of the earth, under the immediate protection of the Messiah, in the latter ages of the world. He confines himself more closely to this single subject, than any other prophet. He seems, indeed, of all the prophets, if I may so express my conception of his peculiar character, to have been the most of a Jew. Comparatively, he seems to care but little about other people. He wanders not like Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, into the collateral history of the surrounding heathen nations. He meddles not, like Daniel, with the revolutions of the great empires of the world. His own country seems to engross his whole attention ; her privileges, her crimes, her punishment, her pardon. He predicts, indeed, in the strongest and the clearest terms, the ingrafting of the Gentiles into the church of God. But he mentions it only generally ; he enters not, like Isaiah, into the minute detail of the progress of the business. Nor does he describe, in any detail, the previous contest with the apostate faction in the latter ages. He makes no explicit mention of the share, which the converted Gentiles are to have in the re-establishment of the natural Israel in their ancient seats ; subjects which make so striking a part of the prophecies of Isaiah, Daniel, Zachariah, Haggai, and, occasionally, of the other prophets. He alludes to the calling of our Lord from Egypt ; to the resurrection on the third day ; he touches, but only in general terms, upon the final overthrow of the antichristian army in Palestine, by the immediate interposition of Jehovah : and he celebrates, in the loftiest strains of triumph and exultation, the Saviour's final victory over death and hell. But yet, of all the prophets, he certainly enters the least into the detail of the mysteries of redemption. We have nothing in him descriptive of the events of the interval between the two advents of our Lord. Nothing diffuse and circumstantial, upon the great and interesting mysteries of the incarnation, and the atonement. His country, and his

kindred is the subject next his heart. Their crimes excite his indignation; their sufferings interest his pity; their future exaltation is the object, on which his imagination fixes with delight. It is a remarkable dispensation of providence, that clear notices, though in general terms, of the universal redemption, should be found in a writer so strongly possessed with national partialities. This Judaism, if I may so call it, seems to make the particular character of Hosea as a prophet. Not that the ten tribes are exclusively his subject. His country is indeed his particular and constant subject; but his country generally, in both its branches, not in either taken by itself.

That this is the true view of his prophecies, appears from the extraordinary manner of the opening of his ministry. As an expositor of his prophecy, I might decline any discussion of the question about his marriage; whether it was a real transaction, or passed in vision only. I have indeed no doubt, that it was a real occurrence in the prophet's life, and the beginning of his prophetic career. I have no doubt, that he was really commanded to form the connection; and that the commandment, in the sense in which it was given, was really obeyed. But this is, in truth, a question of little importance to the interpretation of the prophecy. For the act was equally emblematical, whether it was real or visionary only. And the signification of the emblem, whether the act were done in reality or in vision, will be the same. The act, if merely visionary, will admit the same variety of circumstances in vision, as the real act would admit in reality. The same questions will arise, what those circumstances were. And the import of each circumstance, attending the act, will be the same, though not of the same public notoriety. The readiest and surest way therefore of interpreting the prophecy will be to consider the emblematical act as really performed. The emblem was interpreted by the Holy Spirit when he gave the

command. The incontinent wife, by the declaration of the spirit, and by the general analogy of the prophetic imagery, was an emblem of the Jewish nation, polluted with spiritual fornication, i. e. with idolatry ; but of the nation generally, in both its branches, for in both its branches it was equally polluted. If there was any difference between Judah and Ephraim, it was not in the degree of the pollution. For in different periods of her history Judah had defiled herself with idolatry, in a degree that Ephraim could not easily surpass. But it was, indeed, an aggravation of Ephraim's guilt, that it was the very foundation of her polity. Her very existence, as a distinct kingdom, was founded on the idolatry of the calves, which was instituted by Jeroboam for preventing the return of the ten tribes to their allegiance to the house of David. These calves of Jeroboam's, by the way, seem to have been mutilated imitations of the cherubic emblems. Thus they were very significant symbols of a religion founded on misbelief, and upon the self-conceit of Natural Reason, discarding revelation, and, by its own boasted powers, forming erroneons notions of the Godhead.* This corrupt worship, as an essential part of their civil constitution, the ten tribes superadded to the guilt of a total defection from their allegiance to the house of David ; the

* The Cherubim of the Temple, and the calves of Dan and Beth-el, were both hieroglyphical figures. The one, of God's institution ; the other of man's, in direct contravention of the second commandment. The cherub was a compound figure ; the calf, single. Jeroboam therefore and his subjects were Unitarians. And when his descendants added to the idolatry of the calves, the worship of Baal, they became Materialists. For the most antient Pagan idolatry was neither more nor less, than an allegorised Materialism. The deification of dead men was the corruption of later periods of idolatry, when idolaters had forgotten the meaning of their original symbols, and their original rites. It was not therefore without reason, that the antient fathers considered the nation of the ten tribes as a general type of heresy.

type of the true David, from whom final apostacy will be everlasting destruction. The two tribes, on the contrary, remained loyally attached to David's family ; and the idolatry into which, from time to time, they fell, was rather the lapse of individuals, than the premeditated policy of the nation. Except in the reigns of one or two of their very worst kings, the public religion was the worship of the true God, according to the rites of his own appointment, by a priesthood of his own institution. And this was the reason that the kingdom of Judah, though severely punished, was however, treated with longer forbearance ; and, when the dreadful judgment came, in some respects, with more lenity. But as to the degree of idolatry prevailing in either kingdom, estimated by the instances of it in the practice of individuals, it was equally gross. Accordingly, spiritual fornication is perpetually laid to the charge of the whole people, without distinction, by the prophets : and in the nature of the thing, as well as by the declaration of the Spirit, the Prophet's incontinent wife is the general emblem of the whole Jewish nation. Whatever is said of this woman is to be applied to the whole nation, unless the application be limited, by the express mention of a part by name. And, upon this principle, we shall find that the whole discourse is general, from the end of the first chapter to the 14th verse of the fourth inclusive. In the 15th verse of the fourth chapter, the two kingdoms are distinguished. Thenceforward they are sometimes interchangeably, sometimes jointly, addressed ; but the part which is common to both, with that which is peculiar to Judah, makes at least as large a portion of the whole remainder of the book, as what is peculiar to the kingdom of Israel.

The woman being the emblem of the whole Jewish race, the several descriptions, or parts of the nation, are represented by the children, which she bore in the prophet's house. But here two other questions arise, upon which

expositors have been much divided. 1st, What is the character intended of the woman? What are the fornications by which she is characterised? Are they acts of incontinence in the literal sense of the word, or something figuratively so called? And, 2dly, this guilt of literal or figurative incontinence, was it previous to the woman's marriage with the prophet, or contracted after it?

The Hebrew phrase, "a wife of fornications," taken literally, certainly describes a prostitute, and "children of fornications" are the offspring of a promiscuous commerce. Some, however, have thought that a wife of fornications may signify nothing worse "than a wife taken from among the Israelites, who were remarkable for spiritual fornication, or idolatry." And that "children of fornications" may signify children born of such a mother, in such a country, and likely to grow up in the habit of idolatry themselves, by the force of ill example. God, contemplating with indignation the frequent disloyalty of that chosen nation, to which he was as it were a husband, which owed him the fidelity of a wife, says to the prophet, "Go join thyself in marriage to one of those who have "committed fornication against me, and raise up children who will themselves swerve to idolatry."* But the words thus interpreted contain a description only of public manners, without immediate application to the character of any individual, and the command to the prophet will be nothing more than to take a wife.

But the words may be more literally taken, and yet the impropriety, as it should seem, of a dishonourable alliance formed by God's express command, as some have thought, avoided. Idolatry, by the principles on which it was founded, and by the licence and obscenity of its public rites, had a natural tendency to corrupt the morals of the sex; and it appears, by the sacred history, that the prevalence of it

* See Abn. Nocomo on Hosea, l. 2.

among the Israelites was actually followed with this dreadful effect. It may be supposed that, in the depraved state of public manners, the prophet was afraid to form the nuptial connection, and purposed to devote himself to a single life : and that he is commanded by God to take his chance : upon this principle ; that no dishonour, that might be put upon him by a lascivious wife, was to be compared with the affront daily put upon God by the idolatries of the chosen people. "Go take thyself a wife among these wantons. Haply she may play thee false, and make thee father of a spurious brood." Am not I the husband of a wife of fornications ? My people daily go a whoring after the idols of the heathen. Shall I, the God of Israel, bear this indignity, and shalt thou, a mortal man, proudly defy the calls of nature ; fearing the disgrace of thy family, and the contamination of its blood, by a woman's frailty !" But this interpretation differs from the former, only in the species of guilt imputed to the Israelites collectively ; and the command to the prophet is still nothing more than to venture upon a wife, ill-qualified as the women of his times in general were for the duties of the married state. And the injunction seems to be given for no other purpose, than to introduce a severe animadversion upon the Israelites, as infinitely more guilty with respect to God, than any adulteress among women with respect to her husband.

But it is evident, that "a wife of fornications" describes the sort of woman, with whom the prophet is required to form the matrimonial connection. It expresses some quality in the woman, common perhaps to many women, but actually belonging to the prophet's wife in her individual character. And this quality was no other than gross incontinence in the literal meaning of the word : carnal, not spiritual fornication. The prophet's wife was, by the express declaration of the Spirit, to be the type or emblem of the Jewish nation, considered as the wife of God. The

sin of the Jewish nation was idolatry, and the scriptural type of idolatry is carnal fornication ; the woman therefore to typify the nation, must be guilty of the typical crime ; and the only question that remains is, whether this stain upon her character was previous to her connection with the prophet, or contracted afterwards ?

I should much incline to the opinion of Diodati, that the expression, “a wife of whoredoms,” may be understood of a woman that was innocent at the time of her marriage, and proved false to the nuptial vow afterwards, could I agree to what is alleged in favour of that interpretation, by Dr. Wells and by Lowth the father, that it makes the parallel more exact between God and his backsliding people, the prophet and his lascivious wife, than the contrary supposition of the woman’s previous impurity ; especially, if, with Dr. Wells, we make the further supposition, that the prophet had previous warning of his wife’s irregularities. “Forasmuch as in like manner,” says Dr. Wells, “God took Israel to be his peculiar people, though “he also knew aforehand, that they would often prove false to him, and fall into spiritual whoredom or idolatry.” It seems to me, on the contrary, that the prophet’s marriage will be a more accurate type of the peculiar connection, which God vouchsafed to form between himself and the Israelites, upon the admission of the woman’s previous incontinence. God’s marriage with Israel was the institution of the Mosaic covenant at the time of the Exodus ;* but it is most certain, that the Israelites were previously tainted, in a very great degree, with the idolatry of Egypt ;† and they are repeatedly taxed with this by the prophets, under the image of the incontinence of a young unmarried woman.‡ To make the parallel therefore exact in every circumstance

* Jer. ii. 2.

† Levit. xvii. 7. xviii. 3. Josh. xxiv. 14.

‡ See Ezek. xxiii.

between the prophet and his wife, God and Israel, the woman should have been addicted to pleasure before her marriage. The prophet, not ignorant of her numerous criminal intrigues, and of the general levity of her character, should nevertheless offer her marriage, upon condition that she should renounce her follies, and attach herself with fidelity to him as her husband; she should accept the unexpected offer, and make the fairest promises * The prophet should complete the marriage-contract,† and take the reformed harlot, with a numerous bastard offspring, to his own house. There she should bear children to the prophet (as the antient Jewish church, amidst all her corruptions, bore many true sons of God;) but in a little she should relapse to her former courses, and incur her husband's displeasure; who yet should neither put her to death, according to the rigour of the law, nor finally and totally divorce her. Accordingly I am perswaded the phrases **אִשֶּׁת זְנוּנִים** and **יְלָדֵי זְנוּנִים** are to be taken literally, "a wife of prostitution," and "children of promiscuous commerce:" so taken, and only so taken, they produce the admirable parallel, we have described. The prophet is commanded to take home a harlot for his wife, and to receive her bastard brood. After the marriage she bears children in the prophet's house: but she is not constant to his bed. She, who at first was a fornicatress, becomes an adultress (chap. iii); yet her husband is not permitted to discard her. He removes her for a time from his bed: debars her of all her intercourse with her lovers, but plainly bids her not despair of being re-admitted, after many days of mortification, upon her complete reformation, and the return of her affections to him, to the full rank and all the privileges of a prophet's lawful blameless wife. If any one imagines, that the marriage of a prophet

* Exod. xix. 8. xxiv. 3—7. Josh. xxiv. 24.

† Deut. vii. 6. xxvi. 17.—19.

with a harlot is something so contrary to moral purity, as in no case whatever to be justified, let him recollect the case of Salmon the Just, as he is stiled in the Targum upon Ruth, and Rahab the harlot. If that instance will not remove his scruples, he is at liberty to adopt the opinion, which I indeed reject, but many learned expositors have approved, that the whole was a transaction in vision only, or in trance. I reject it, conceiving that whatever was unfit to be really commanded, or really done, was not very fit to be presented, as commanded or as done, to the imagination of a prophet in his holy trance. Since this therefore was fit to be imagined, which is the least that can be granted, it was fit (in my judgment), under all the circumstances of the case, to be done. The greatness of the occasion, the importance of the end, as I conceive, justified the command in this extraordinary instance. The command, if it was given, surely sanctified the action: and, upon these grounds, till I can meet with some other exposition, which may render this typical wedding equally significant of the thing to be typified by it in all its circumstances, I am content to take the fact plainly, as it is related, according to the natural import of the words of the narration; especially as this way of taking it will lead to the true meaning of the emblematical act, even if it was commanded and done only in vision. In taking it as a reality, I have with me the authority, not certainly of the majority, but of some of the most learned and cautious expositors: which I mention, not so much, to sustain the truth of the opinion, as to protect myself, in the avowal of it, from injurious imputations. "*Hæc sententia,*" says the learned Mercer, "*magis nobis placet, ut reverâ uxorem scortum duxerit, et ex eâ liberos dubios procreâret. Nam quod objicitur, honestas esse oportere doctorum nuptias, sane non poterant non honestæ esse jubente Domino; qui id ita volebat ad significandos Israelitarum mores.*"

Denique aliorum interpretationes tam improbables videntur, ut earum nulla sit, cui majorem quam huic assensum præbere queam. Hebræi enim scholiastæ hæc omnia visione facta fuisse arbitrantur, cum nulla omnino visionis mentio fiat." To the same purpose Mr. Lively : " Quod objicitur contra legem Divinam et bonos mores hoc fieri, si doctor ecclesiæ meretricem ducat, tum verum est, si libidine suâ id fecerit injussu Dei; quorum neutrum in Oseâ fuisse omnes intelligebant." And the learned Grotius : " Maimonides hæc vult contigisse ἐν ὁπλῶσι tantum. Sed et sensus loci, et alia loca similia magis id credi exigunt, signo aliquo, in hominum oculos accurrente, expressas eas res quæ inter Deum et Hebræum populum agebantur. Uxorem ducere, quæ meretrix fuerit, non erat illicitum nisi sacerdotibus. Videri quidem id poterat subturpe, sed quicquid jubet Deus, idem jubendo honestum facit." The learned Houbigant adopts the same opinion; which, among the antients, was strenuously maintained by St. Cyril of Alexandria, and by Theodoret, and entertained by St. Basil. And with these celebrated and judicious expositors, I scruple not to declare, that I agree. Admitting, however, in my own private judgment, the reality of the action, I would not be understood to admit, I do most explicitly and positively deny, as absurd and impious, the extravagant conclusion, which some have drawn from the mention of " the children of promiscuous commerce," that the prophet was, either in vision or reality, commanded, or permitted, to co-habit with the woman, not as a wife in lawful wedlock, but as a harlot; and himself to beget an illegitimate race. Such a conversation of the prophet with the harlot would have been no type of the spiritual marriage between God and the chosen people: it would have been highly sinfull; what no occasion, or pretended end, could justify; what God therefore never could command; for. I admit the distinction of the learned Drusius,

“Scortum aliquis ducere potest sine peccato; scortari non item.” The children of promiscuous commerce are the offspring of the woman in her dissolute life, previous to her connection with the prophet.

After the marriage the Prophet's wife bore three children. These children represent, as I have observed, certain distinct parts or descriptions of the Jewish nation, of the whole of which the mother was the emblem. Of these three children the eldest and the youngest were sons: the intermediate child was a daughter. The eldest, I think, was the Prophet's son; but the two last were both bastards. In this I have the concurrence of Dr. Wells; acutely remarking, “that whereas it is said, v. 3, that the prophet's wife ‘conceived and bare a son to him,’ it is said of the other two children only, ‘that she conceived again and bare a daughter,’ v. 6; and ‘she conceived and bare a son,’ v. 8; implying that the children, she then bare, not being born, like the first, to the prophet, were not begotten by him.” These things being premised, the names imposed upon the children, by God's direction, sufficiently declare what particular parts of the Jewish nation were severally represented by them. The name of the eldest son was ירעאל Jez-räel; compounded of the nouns זרע (seed) and אל (God:) the initial י being merely formative of the proper name, as in innumerable instances. ישראל from יעקב from שרה and אל. ירמיה from רום and יה. יאזניה from און and יה &c.) The import therefore of the name is “Seed of God;” and the persons represented by the prophet's proper son, to whom the name is given, were all those true servants of God, scattered among all the twelve tribes of Israel, who, in the times of the nation's greatest depravity, worshipped the everlasting God, in the hope of the Redeemer to come. These were a holy seed; the genuine sons of God; begotten of him to a lively hope, and the early seed of that church, which shall at last em-

brace all the families of the earth. These are Jezräel, typified by the prophet's own son and rightfull heir, as the children of God, and heirs of the promises.

This is St Jerome's interpretation of the word Jezräel as a mystical proper name ; and for the plain and obvious connection of the typical signification with the etymology and literal meaning, it is much to be preferred to another ; which, however, has been received with approbation by many, I believe indeed by the majority, of later expositors. Conceiving that the word זרע, as a verb, signifies "to scatter," they render the word "Jezräel" "the dispersion," or the dispersed of God ; and they expound it as predictive of the dispersion of the Jewish nation : and this interpretation has been in so much credit, as to find its way into the marginal notes of the English Geneva Bible. And perhaps it is not altogether irreconcilable with etymology ; for, the word זרע is, indeed, both a noun and a verb. The noun is the root ; and as the noun signifies "seed," the verb signifies "to sow seed : " and, when applied to such seeds as are sown by scattering them, virtually indeed signifies to scatter them. Thus it acquires the sense of scattering abroad, as seed is scattered, and figuratively may signify the dispersion. But in truth, this interpretation of the word, however consistent it may be with etymological principles, is clearly set aside by the manifest application of it, in the 22d verse of the 2d chapter, in St. Jerome's sense of seed ; which in that passage is so evident, and indeed so necessary, that it is admitted there, by the most learned of those, who would impose the other sense upon it in the 1st chapter. They conceive the word susceptible of two contrary typical senses, corresponding respectively to the two contrary senses, which they ascribe to the root ; namely, that of sowing for a crop, and that of scattering for destruction.*

* Thus the learned Diodati, upon chap. ii. v. 22,—"ad Izrael,"

The necessity of imposing contrary senses upon one and the same image, in a system of prophetic images, in different parts of the same prophecy, seems a sufficient confutation of the scheme of interpretation, which creates it. The sense, which forces itself upon the understanding of the reader, in one clear unequivocal passage, being equally apposite, though not of equal necessity, in every other passage where the type is mentioned, ought in all reason to be taken every where as the single signification of the type; even in preference to any other, which may not be irreconcilable, and may even be applicable, in some texts where the type is introduced. And for this reason, a third interpretation of this mystical word, which is adopted by two learned Commentators of our own, Mr. Lowth and Dr. Wells, must be rejected. The noun זרע has indeed two senses. It signifies "an arm" as well as "seed." Hence these expositors conceive, that Jezræel may signify either "a Seed of God" or "the Arm of God." And they take it in the first sense in chap. ii. 22, and in the second in chap. i. But since the first is the only sense, in which it can be taken, consistently with the context, in chap. ii. and is apt and applicable, wherever the word occurs; it is better to adhere to this one sense, than to introduce uncertainty and confusion, by multiplying the significations of a single image without necessity. Not to mention that the godly are often described in Scripture under the image of God's children, whereas they are not "his arm," more than any other part of the creation; being indeed the especial objects of his providence, but in

c. al mio popolo, il quale, Hos. I. 4. "era stato nominato Izreel in senso di minaccia e di maladittione; ma qui è cangiato in senso di gratia e di promessa; perciocchè Izreel può anche significare, colui ch' Iddio semina, o semina." And to the same effect Rivetus. "Mutatur hic significatio nominis ut pro dispersione a Deo facta non amplius accipiatur, sed pro seminatione Dei. pro legitimo semine."

common only with all his creatures, an instrument of his power. Rejecting therefore all other interpretations of this word, we may safely abide by St. Jerome's, as plain and simple, agreeable to etymology, conformable to the usual imagery of holy writ, applicable in all the passages where this mystical name is used, and indisputably confirmed by the harmony and coherence of the prophetic text with itself. And, according to this interpretation, the prophet's eldest son under the name of Jezräel, typifies the true children of God among the natural Israel.

All of the Jewish people that were not Jezräel, those who were not Israel, though they were of Israel, are typified by the two bastard children. The first of these, the daughter, was called Lo-ruhamah. The sex of the child is the emblem of weakness.* Her name, Lo-ruhamah, is a compound of the negative particle **לֹא** and **רחמה** the particle Benoni feminine in Pahal of the verb **רחם**, which signifies either to be tenderly affected with love or pity, or to be the object of such tender affection, i. e. either actively to love, or pity, or passively to be beloved, or to be pitied. The name Lo-ruhamah therefore is "unbeloved," or "unpitied," or, as it is paraphrased in the margin of our English Bible, in conformity with all the ancient versions, "not having obtained mercy. Or, as it is rendered by the LXX and St. Peter, *ἐκ ἡλεημένης*. (1 Pet. II. 10.) By St. Paul, *ἐκ ἡγαπημένης*, Rom. IX. 25. It is remarkable that, of the two senses which the word **רחם** equally bears, of pity or love, St. Peter in this place should take the one, St. Paul the other; but this, as Dr. Pocock observes, "makes no difference in the matter, inasmuch as "God's mercy and love go inseparably together." How-

* "Nequaquam jam Jezrael, id est, "Semen Dei," nec masculini sexus filius nascitur, sed filia; id est femina, fragilis sexus, et quæ victorum pateat contumeliæ." Hieron. ad locum.

ever, the sense of mercy or pity, in his judgment, seems more agreeable to what follows. In which, however, I differ from him; for, the word in its primary meaning, more specifically relates to the natural affection, the *sympathy* of a parent for a child: and, when it signifies pity or mercy, it is such sort and degree of pity as arises from parental tenderness. So that, if a choice is to be made between the two renderings, I prefer St. Paul's; "not beloved." Which is the more to be attended to, because it seems to have been his own; as all the antient versions give the other. And St. Paul's rendering is, in this instance, to be preferred to St. Peter's because St. Paul expressly cites; St. Peter only alludes. This daughter, Lo-ruhamah, typifies the people of the ten tribes in the enfeebled state of their declining monarchy, torn by intestine commotions and perpetual revolutions, harrassed by powerful invaders, impoverished by their tyrannical exactions, and condemned by the just sentence of God to utter excision as a distinct kingdom, without hope of restoration: for so the type is explained by the Holy Spirit himself.

The last child is a son, and the name given him is Lommi. To determine what is represented by this child (since in the application of this type, the sacred text is not so explicit as in the former,) we must take into consideration the time of its birth. The daughter Lo-ruhamah, was weaned, before the woman conceived this son. "A child, when it is weaned," says St. Jerome, "leaves the mother; is not nourished with the parent's milk; is sustained with extraneous aliments." This aptly represents the condition of the ten tribes expelled from their own country, dispersed in foreign lands, no longer nourished with the spiritual food of divine truth by the ministry of the prophets, and destitute of any better guide than Natural Reason and Heathen Philosophy. The deporta-

tion of the ten tribes, by which they were reduced to this miserable condition, and deprived of what remained to them, in their worst state of willfull corruption, of the spiritual privileges of the chosen race, was, in St. Jerome's notion of the prophecy, the weaning of Lo-ruhamah. The child conceived after Lo-ruhamah was thus weaned, must typify the people of the kingdom of Judah, in the subsequent periods of their history. Or rather this child typifies the whole nation of the children of Israel, reduced, in its external form, by the captivity of the ten tribes, to that single kingdom. The sex represents a considerable degree of national strength and vigour, remaining in this branch of the Jewish people, very different from the exhausted state of the other kingdom previous to its fall. Nor have the two tribes ever suffered so total an excision. The ten were absolutely lost in the world, soon after their captivity. They have been no where to be found for many ages, and know not where to find themselves: though we are assured they will be found again of God, in the day when he shall make up his jewels. But the people of Judah have never ceased totally to be. In captivity at Babylon they lived a separate race, respected by their conquerors. From that captivity they returned. They became an opulent and powerfull state; formidable at times to the rival powers of Syria and Egypt; and held in no small consideration by the Roman people, and the first emperors of Rome. And even in their present state of ruin and degradation, without territory, and without a polity of their own, such is the masculine strength of suffering, with which they are endued, they are still extant in the world as a separate race, but not as God's people, otherwise than as they are reserved for signal mercy; God grant it may be in no very distant period! But at present they are Lo-ammi. לֹא־עַמִּי (Not My people.) And so they have actually been more than seventeen centuries

and a half; and to this condition they were condemned, when this prophecy was delivered.

That these are typified by the child Lo-ammi appears, from the application of that name, in the 10th verse, to the children of Israel generally. Whence it seems to follow, that the degenerate people of Judah were implicated in the threatenings contained in the former part of the chapter. But in those threatenings they cannot be implicated, unless they are typified in some one or more of the typical children. But they are not typified in Jezräel; for the Jezräel is no object of wrath or threatening: not in Lo-ruhamah; for Lo-ruhamah typifies the kingdom of the ten tribes exclusively: of necessity, therefore in Lo-ammi.

The same conclusion may be drawn, from the use of the second person plural in the explanation of the name Lo-ammi, in the 9th verse. "Call his name Lo-ammi; for ye are not my people——." It is evident, that the pronoun of the second person plural, *Ye*, is compellative of the persons typified by the child, to which the name is given. The command to name every one of the children is addressed to the prophet, by the verb imperative in the singular number. "Call his name Jezräel——.*" "Call her name Lo-ruhamah——.†" "Call his name Lo-ammi——.‡" But in explaining the name Lo-ruhamah, the persons typified are mentioned in the third person, "—— for I will no more have mercy upon ——" not *You*, but "the house of Israel.§" Whereas in explaining the name Lo-ammi, the persons typified are not mentioned in the third person, but addressed in the second, "—— for ye are not my people." The reason of which I think must be this: since the prophet is the person, and the only person, to whom, as actually present, God speaks; the

* v. 4.

† v. 6.

‡ v. 9.

§ v. 6.

persons of whom this is declared, "ye are not my people," must be that branch of the Jewish nation, to which the prophet himself belonged. Hence, if there be any truth in the received opinion, that the prophet Hosea was of the kingdom of Judah, the men of that kingdom must be the persons typically represented by Lo-ammi. "Call his name Lo-ammi; for ye, O Men of Judah, are not my people." This I consider as a strong corroboration, though by itself it would not amount to proof, of what I conceive to be indisputably proved by the argument from the 10th verse; that the child Lo-ammi represents the Jewish nation, existing in the single kingdom of Judah, after the captivity of the ten tribes. Or, to put the argument in a stronger shape, independent of any previous assumption about the prophet's country; since God, speaking to the prophet, speaks of the persons typified by Lo-ruhamah in the third person, and addresses those typified by Lo-ammi in the second; the prophet did not belong to any branch of the nation, collectively typified by Lo-ruhamah: Lo-ammi typified some branch of the nation, to which he did belong. Lo-ruhamah typified the Kingdom of Israel. To that kingdom therefore the prophet did not belong. He belonged therefore of necessity to the kingdom of Judah. Lo-ammi therefore typifies this kingdom.

The objection, which has been brought against this interpretation of the woman's last child, from St. Peter's application of the latter part of the 10th verse to the converted Jews of the Asiatic dispersion, has little weight with me; though it appears, that it was deemed insurmountable by so great a man as Dr. Pocock. The destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the nation by the Romans, had not taken place, it is observed, when St. Peter made the application of the terms of Lo-ammi, and Lo-ruhamah, Ammi and Ruhamah, to these converts: the former. in their state of unbelief: the latter. in their con

verted state. The Jews, therefore, of Judah and Benjamin, had not yet lost the character of God's people. Yet the prophecy, in the apostle's judgment, was already fulfilled; as appears by his citation of it, both in the comminatory and the promissory part. The Jews therefore of Judah and Benjamin, whom the threatened punishment had not yet overtaken, were not the Lo-ammi of the Prophet; but this child was only another type of the ten tribes, in their outcast state. It would be difficult, I apprehend, to prove, what this argument tacitly assumes; that "the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia," to whom St. Peter writes, were descendants of the captivity of the ten tribes, rather than of those families of Judah and Benjamin, which never returned from the Babylonian captivity; which were very numerous. Besides, St. Peter's application of the prophecy is no argument that he thought it any farther then fulfilled, than in the individuals to whom he applies it; or otherwise in them, than in a spiritual sense. There have been in all times, in one part or another of the Jewish nation, those among them, who, in a spiritual sense, were Ammi and Ruhamah; the same who have, at different times, composed the Jezräel, which at no time has totally failed. Such were the converts of the Jews in the apostolic age. And of this class is every Jew, in every period of the world, when he is brought to look, with the eye of faith, upon him whom they pierced. The apostle's application of these terms to the converts of his own times, affords no argument that he thought the prophecy had already received its accomplishment, as it respects the national condition of the whole, or either branch of the natural Israel.

From this view of the wife of fornications and her three children the general subject of the prophecy appears, by the manner of its opening, to be the fortunes of the whole

Jewish nation in its two great branches; not the particular concerns (and least of all the particular temporal concerns) of either branch exclusively. And to this grand opening the whole sequel of the prophecy corresponds. In setting forth the vices of the people, the picture is chiefly taken, as might naturally be expected, from the manners of the prophet's own times: in part of which the corruption, in either kingdom, was at the greatest height: after the death of Jeroboam, in the kingdom of Israel; in the reign of Ahaz, in the kingdom of Judah. And there is occasionally much allusion, sometimes predictive allusion, to the principal events of the prophet's times. And much more to the events in the kingdom of Israel, than to those in Judah. Perhaps, because the danger being more immediately imminent in the former kingdom, the state of things in that was more alarming, and the occurrences, for that reason, more interesting. Still the history of his own times in detail, in either kingdom, is not the prophet's subject. It furnishes similes and allusions, but it makes no considerable part, indeed it makes no part at all, of the action (if I may so call it) of the poem. The action lies in events beyond the prophet's times; the commencement indeed within them; but the termination, in times yet future; and, although we may hope the contrary, for aught we know with certainty, remote. The deposition of Jehu's family, by the murder of Zedekiah, the son and successor of Jeroboam, was the commencement; the termination will be the restoration of the whole Jewish nation under one head, in the latter days, in the great day of Jezräel; and the intermediate parts of the action are the judgments, which were to fall, and accordingly have fallen, upon the two distinct kingdoms of Israel and Judah, typified by Lo-ruhamah and Lo-ammi.

A prejudice, which for a long time possessed the minds

of Christians, against the literal sense of the prophecies relating to the future exaltation of the Jewish nation, gave occasion to a false scheme of interpretation ; which, assuming it as a principle, that prophecy, under the old dispensation, looked forward to nothing beyond the abrogation of the Mosaic ritual and the dispersion of the Jews by the Romans, either wrested every thing to the history antecedent to that epoch, and, generally, as near as possible to the prophet's times (as if it were not the gift and business of a prophet to see far before him,) or, by figurative interpretations, for the most part forced and unnatural, applied, what could not be so wrested, to the Christian church : and rarely to the Christian church on earth, but to the condition of the glorified saints in Heaven. This method of exposition, while it prevailed generally, and it is not yet sufficiently exploded, wrapt the writings of all the prophets in tenfold obscurity, and those of Hosea more than the rest. Because, what with all the prophets was the principal, with him is the single subject. It might have been expected, that when once the principle was understood to be false, a better system of interpretation would have been immediately adopted. But this has only partially taken place. Expositions of many passages upon the erroneous scheme had obtained a general currency in the world, and were supported by the authority of great names. Amongst ourselves, it has long been the persuasion of our best Biblical scholars and ablest Divines, that the restoration of the Jews is a principal article of prophecy, being indeed a principal branch of the great scheme of general redemption. Notwithstanding this, we have followed expositors, who had a contrary prejudice, with too much deference to their authority ; and discarding their principle, have, in too many instances sitten down content with the interpretations they have given us. Dr. Wells, himself an assertor of the literal sense of many texts relating to the final restoration of the Jewish nation,

was nevertheless so wedded to the notion, that the particular accomplishment of Hosea's prophecies was to be looked for in the minute detail of the history of the kingdom of Israel, in the prophet's own times, or the times next to them; that he conceived it necessary to the interpretation of them, to ascertain to what particular reigns the particular parts belong: rightly considering the entire book, as a collection of prophecies delivered at different periods of Hosea's long ministry. These periods he has endeavoured to distinguish, with much learning and critical ability, though not perhaps with entire success. But when this is done, he is under the necessity of supplying circumstances in the history by mere conjecture, in order to make the event and the prediction correspond. That is, in truth, he is forced to invent history, before he can find the completion of the prophecy in the times, in which he seeks it. As when to bend a particular text, in itself not difficult of exposition as a general moral image, to his particular system, he is obliged to imagine, without a shadow of authority from sacred history, that the father of Pekah, the last king of Israel but one, was by trade a baker!

He divides the whole book into five sections, each containing, as he supposes, the prophecies of a particular period; and all together giving the prophecies, in the order of time in which he conceives they were delivered. His first section comprehends the three first chapters of the book; and contains the prophecies delivered in the reign of Jeroboam II. His second section ends with the third verse of chapter VI; and contains the prophecies delivered in the interval between the death of Jeroboam and the death of Pekahiah. His third section ends with the tenth verse of chapter VII; and contains the prophecies delivered during the reign of Pekah. His fourth section ends with the eighth verse of chapter XIII; and contains the prophecies delivered during the reign of Hoshea. His fifth section compre-

hends the remainder of the book ; “ containing,” according to the title which he gives it, “ a prophecy of the restoration of Israel (together with those of Judah, under the common name of Jews,) after the Assyrian and Babylonian captivity ; as also, and chiefly, the restoration of all the said tribes, or Jews, into their own country, after their captivity, and long dispersion by the Romans, viz. on the general conversion of all the Jews to Christianity, at the approach, or commencement, of the happy and triumphant state of the Church, which shall yet be on earth.”—Certainly this last section is composed of dreadfull comminations and glorious promises wonderfully intermixed. But the promises have no clear reference to any restoration. previous to the final restoration of the whole race from their present dispersed state. In the preceding sections, the prophecies correspond so imperfectly with the times, to which they are severally referred, that the truth seems to be, as it is stated by Bishop Lowth, “ modicum habemus volumen, vaticinationes Hoseæ, ut videtur præcipuas continens, easque omnes inter se sine ullis temporum notis, aut argumenti distinctione, connexas.”—Insomuch, that it must be a vain attempt to distinguish, what the author has left without mark of distinction. I agree not, however, in the consequence drawn by that illustrious critic, that the want of these distinctions is the cause of the obscurity we find in Hosea’s writings : “ *ita minime mirum est, si Hoseam perlegentes nonnunquam videamur in sparsa quædam Sibyllæ folia incidere.*” The argument or subject is one, from the beginning of the book to the end : and obscurity cannot arise from the want of distinction, in that respect, in which the thing is incapable of distinction. And the subject of these prophecies being what it is, the chronology of the several distinct effusions can be of no consequence to the interpretation : the obscurity therefore arises from some other causes.

It arises solely from the stile. And the obscurity of the stile cannot be imputed to the great antiquity of the composition (in which I again reluctantly disagree with that learned writer, whose abilities I revere, and whose memory I cherish with affection and regard,) nor to any thing peculiar to the language of the author's age. In the Hebrew language, as in the Greek, the earliest writers extant are beyond comparison the most perspicuous; Homer, Hesiod and Herodotus, among the Greeks; Moses and Samuel among the Hebrews. Nor, in all the poetical parts of holy writ, is there any thing to surpass, in simplicity of language, those noble monuments of the earliest inspired song, which are preserved in the Pentateuch: the last words of Jacob, the Song of Moses, his last words, the Song of Miriam, and the effusions of Balaam. Whatever obscurity we find in these most antient compositions, arises not from any archaisms of the stile, or from any thing of studied and affected singularity in the texture of it, but from the subject matter; and from the profound mysticism, which sometimes prevails in the prophetic imagery. If the book of Job be of an earlier age than any of these (except perhaps the last words of Jacob,) still its obscurities are not from archaisms, but from dialectic idioms of the author's country. Then, for the age of Hosea, it was the age of Isaiah and Micah; writers in a highly adorned but flowing easy style. Whatever obscurity therefore we find in the writings of Hosea, must be confessed to be his own, not arising from any peculiar idioms of antiquity, or of his own age.

He delights in a stile, which always becomes obscure, when the language of the writer ceases to be a living language. He is commatic, to use St. Jerome's word, more than any other of the prophets. He writes in short, detached, disjointed sentences; not wrought up into periods, in which the connection of one clause with another, and the dialectic relations, are made manifest to the reader by an

artificial collocation ; and by those connexive particles which make one discourse of parts, which otherwise appear as a string of independent propositions, which it is left to the reader's discernment to unite. His transitions from reproof to perswasion, from threatening to promise, from terror to hope, and the contrary, are rapid and unexpected. His similes are brief, accumulated, and often introduced without the particle of similitude. Yet these are not the vices, but the perfections of the holy prophet's stile : for to these circumstances it owes that eagerness and fiery animation, which are the characteristic excellence of his writings, and are so peculiarly suited to his subject.

Besides this general character of Hosea's stile, I shall mention in this place two particulars, which are almost peculiar to this prophet ; which I think can create little difficulty, when the reader is previously apprised of them, and taught to refer them, wherever they occur, to the principle on which they really depend ; and yet, for want of being well considered, they have much perplexed interpreters, and have been the occasion of much unwarrantable tampering with the text in the way of conjectural emendation.

The first is a certain inconstancy, if I may so call it, in the person of the pronoun, or of the verb. A frequent sudden change from the second person to the third, or the contrary, in speaking, when the people collectively are the principal object of speech. Unaccountable as this has seemed to many expositors, it arises naturally, I apprehend, from the general plan of composition in these prophecies ; which are all conceived in the shape of a discourse, held in public between Jehovah and the Prophet, upon the subject of the guilt, the punishment, and the final pardon of the people. Even in those prophecies, which open with a call upon the children of Israel, or upon the priests in particular and the house of the king, to give ear ; still the prophet is the per-

son, with whom Jehovah principally talks. To him he sets forth the crimes of the people; to him he denounces the impending judgments; and to him he opens his merciful intention of restoring the converted race of Israel to his favour in the latter days. But in these discourses Jehovah often turns, in the fire of indignation, from the prophet directly upon the people themselves; addressing them in the second person, of whom he had been speaking in the third (as in chap. iv. 4, 5.) Sometimes the same turn of the discourse is made, in the tenderness of love, or exuberance of pity (chap. ii. 18. 19. &c. xi. 7. 8.) Sometimes on the contrary, Jehovah, speaking to the people, turns suddenly away from them, in contempt as it were of their unworthiness, to his friend and confident, if we may so venture to speak, the prophet (chap. viii. 5.). The instances of these changes of the speech are innumerable; and sometimes so sudden, that the same sentence, which begins in the third person, shall end in the second; or, beginning in the second it shall end in the third. But this is so far from an obscurity, when it is traced to its true principle, that by removing it, the whole animation of the discourse would be extinguished. I have in most places retained this peculiarity in my translation, and, I flatter myself, without obscurity. In some few instances indeed, but in very few, I have been compelled, for the sake of perspicuity, to abandon it.

The second circumstance in Hosea's stile, which has much embarrassed his interpreters, is his frequent use of the Nominative Absolute. By the nominative absolute I mean a noun substantive, a proper name or an appellative, in the nominative case, placed at the beginning of a sentence, without any grammatical connexion with any other word; and serving only to announce, by its name, the principal subject of the proposition, which is immediately to follow, and to awaken attention to it. See chap. ix. 3 and 11. The

difficulty is considerably increased, when the nominative is not expressly mentioned, in what immediately follows, as the subject of the discourse, though it is really what is uppermost in the speaker's mind. See chap. xiv. 8. This nominative absolute occurs in the Psalms, and in most of the prophets. It is a figure of vehement impassioned speech ; and it is frequent in Hosea, because his stile, above all the other prophets, is vehement and impassioned. The noun so used is easily distinguished, in our language, by a note of admiration placed after it. And it is the want of that mark, that has made this figure a cause of obscurity in the original Hebrew text.

The obscurities arising from what is called an anomaly either of the number, when a collective noun, singular in form and plural in sense ; or a noun, plural in form and singular in sense, is connected indifferently with singular or plural verbs, pronouns, and adjectives ; or, an anomaly of the gender, when a noun, rendering what has naturally no sex, is connected almost indifferently with masculine and feminine, and with both in the same sentence ; and that other anomaly of the gender, when one and the same word, taken as the name of a people, may be masculine, and as the name of the country which the people inhabit, feminine ; and that too in the same sentence : these are not peculiar to Hosea, and are too inconsiderable to deserve more, than the bare mention that they are frequent.

An obscurity, arising from an indistinctness in the reference of the pronoun of the third person, will appear to the English reader to prevail remarkably in Hosea. But this is not to be imputed to the prophet, nor indeed to any of the sacred writers ; in all of whom it is found in the English Bible, but is introduced, often indeed unavoidably, by translation ; and it arises from a circumstance, in which the idiom of our language differs from the Hebrew, and from all the antient languages. The English language

admits, in some particular cases only, a subintellection of the pronoun as the nominative case to the verb; which, in the antient languages, is oftener understood than expressed. And this often lays the English translator under an inevitable necessity of introducing the pronoun of the third person as the nominative case, when it is also the accusative after the verb; and, before and after the verb, necessarily rehearses different persons.

—————and THEY bare children to THEM.”
 Gen. vi. 4. “They,” the daughters of men, bear “to them;”—to them, the sons of God. Here, indeed, the ambiguity is introduced in the English by a mis-translation, The verb יָלַד, signifies either “to bear” or “to beget.” And the nominative case of the masculine verb יָלַדוּ, in the original, is “the sons of God.” And the proper rendering would be thus: “——the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and begat to themselves children.” And this is the rendering of the Alexandrine LXX, and the old version of Tyndal, and of the Bishop’s Bible:—
 εἰσεπορεύοντο οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐγέννησαν αὐτοῖς. LXX. “——the chyldren of God had lyen with the daughters of men, and had begotten them chyldren.” Tyndal. Again, “——in the likeness of God made HE HIM.” Gen. v. i. He, God, made him man. Here again the translation has introduced the ambiguity; which is not in the original, and was avoided in the old translation of Tyndal, by a better arrangement of the words, “——when God created man, and made hym after the similitude of God.” The ambiguity, however, in the English language is often unavoidable; as in Hosea, chap. xii. 4. 5: “——HE had wept, and made supplication unto HIM. At Bethel HE found HIM, and there he spake with us;” i. e. He [Jacob] had wept, and made supplication unto him [the Angel], At Bethel he [Jacob] found him [the Angel], and there he [the Angel] spake with us. The insertion of the

nominative He, in the English translation, is unavoidable; and produces the ambiguity, which is not in the original.

The causes of Hosea's obscurity, or reputed obscurity, to speak with more justice of his writings, I take to be those, which I have enumerated. The general commatism of his stile; his frequent and sudden transitions; the brevity and accumulation of his similes, and those two remarkable circumstances, his inconstancy in the person of the verb, and the use of the nominative absolute.

But Archbishop Newcome maintains that the "greatest difficulties arise from the corrupt readings, which deform the printed text." Much as I have been indebted, in the prosecution of this work, to the previous labours of that learned prelate, against this opinion I must openly and earnestly protest. It is an erroneous opinion pregnant with the most mischievous consequences; and the more dangerous, as having received the sanction of his great authority. That the sacred text has undergone corruptions, is indisputable. The thing is evident from the varieties of the MSS., the antient versions, and the oldest printed editions: for, among different readings, one only can be right; and it is probable, I go farther, I say that it is almost certain, that the worse reading has sometimes found its way into the printed text. That the corruptions are greater in Hosea, than in other parts of the Old Testament, I see no reason to suppose. That the corruptions in any part are so numerous, or in such degree, as to be a principal cause of obscurity, or, indeed, to be a cause of obscurity at all, with the utmost confidence I deny. And, be the corruptions what they may, I must protest against the ill-advised measure, as to me it seems, however countenanced by great examples, of attempting to remove any obscurity supposed to arise from them, by what is called conjectural emendation. Considering the matter only as a problem in the doctrine of chances, the odds are always in-

finitely against conjecture. For one instance in which conjecture may restore the original reading, in one thousand, or more, it will only leave corruption worse corrupted. It is the infirmity of the human mind, to revolt from one extreme of folly to the contrary. It is therefore little to be wondered, that, when the learned first emancipated their minds from an implicit belief, which had so long obtained, in the masculine integrity of the printed text, an unwarrantable licence of conjectural alteration should succeed to that despicable superstition, Upon this principle, great allowance is to be made, first for Cappellus, after him for Hare and Houbigant, and for others since, men of learning and piety, by whose labours the church of God has been greatly edified; if, in clearing away difficulties by altering the reading, they have sometimes proceeded with less scruple in the business, than the very serious nature of it should have raised in their minds. But their example is to be followed with the greatest fear and caution. I must observe however, that under the name of conjecture, I condemn not altogether alterations, which without the authority of a single MS., are suggested by the antient versions, especially by the Vulgate, Syriac, or Septuagint. The consent indeed of those versions, in one reading, wherever it is found, I esteem a considerable, though not always an indisputable authority for an emendation.

What authority may, consistently with the rules of sober criticism, be allowed to the antient versions in general, or to any one of them in particular, for the establishment of various readings; are questions of great moment, which well deserve a deep consideration. Perhaps the error of late years has been to set this sort of authority much too high. "*Lectiones versionum, quæ superstitum codicum habent præsidium* (says De Rossi with great judgment) *multi faciendæ sunt, censendæque generatim ex exemplari depromptæ, quod interpres habebat ob oculos. Contra*

quæ MSS. fide destituuntur, dubiæ sunt, infirmæque per se auctoritatis ; quum dubii simus, num ex archetypo codice eas hauserit interpres, an vero arbitrio indulserit ; ipsumque codicum silentium posterius videtur arguere, nisi gravis conjectura critica aliter suadeat, historiæque analogia ac veritas. Cautè itaque colligendæ veterum interpretum lectiones—cautius vero præferendæ.” With respect to the Greek version of the LXX in particular, it may reasonably be made a doubt, whether the MSS. from which it was made, were they now extant, would be entitled to the same degree of credit as our modern Hebrew text, notwithstanding their comparatively high antiquity. There is certainly much reason to believe, that, after the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar, perhaps from a somewhat earlier period, the Hebrew text was in a much worse state of corruption, in the copies which were in private hands, than it has ever been since the revision of the sacred books by Ezra. These inaccurate copies would be multiplied during the whole period of the captivity, and widely scattered in Assyria, Persia, and Egypt ; in short, through all the regions of the dispersion. The text, as revised by Ezra, was certainly of much higher credit, than any of these copies, notwithstanding their greater antiquity. His edition succeeded, as it were, to the prerogatives of an autograph (the autographs of the inspired writers themselves being totally lost,) and was henceforward to be considered as the only source of authentic texts : insomuch, that the comparative merit of any text now extant will depend upon the probable degree of its approximation to, or distance from, the Esdrine edition. Now, if the translation of the LXX was made from some of those old MSS. which the dispersed Jews had carried into Egypt, or from any other of those unauthenticated copies ; which is the prevailing tradition among the Jews, and is very probable ; at least it cannot be confuted : it will be likely, that the faultiest MS. now ex-

tant, differs less from the genuine Esdrine text, than those more antient, which the version of the LXX represents. But much as this consideration lowers the credit of the LXX, separately, for any various reading, it adds great weight to the consent of the LXX with later versions, and greater still to the consent of the old versions with MSS. of the Hebrew, which still survive. And as it is certainly possible, that a true reading may have been preserved in one solitary MS. ; it will follow that a true reading may be preserved in one version : for the MS., which contained the true reading at the time when the version was made, may have perished since ; so that no evidence of the reading shall now remain, but the version. I admit, therefore, that, in some cases, which however will be very rare, the authority of any antient version (but more especially that of the Syriac) may confirm a various reading, supported by other circumstances, even without the consent of any one Hebrew MS. now extant. Provided only, that the emendation be not made without a reasonable certainty, after due consideration, that the sense of the version, which suggests the alteration of the reading, is not to be derived from the text as it stands : the reverse of which I take to be the case in many instances of various readings, which have been proposed upon the imagined authority of some one or more of the antient versions. But a difference between any of the antient and our modern version, is no indication of different readings in the MSS. used by the different translators ; unless the text, as it now stands, be clearly incapable of the sense given in the antient version : in which case the conclusion of a variety in the reading of the original, or of a corruption in the version, is inevitable. It must be observed, however, that this authority of the antient versions is to be considered both ways. The agreement of any of them, in the sense of any passage, with the modern, being a more certain evidence of the agreement of the MSS. from which that ar-

uent translation was made, with the text as it now stands ; than the disagreement in sense, when it is not to be reconciled with the present text, is an evidence of a various reading of the text in the older MSS. I say, a more certain evidence ; because, from the disagreement of any antient version with the present text, the utmost we can conclude, is the alternative. Either the author of that antient version had a different reading of the Hebrew, or the text of the version itself is corrupted ; or, perhaps the antient interpreter has mistaken the sense of the original. But the conjectural emendation, which I chiefly dread and reprobate, is that which rests solely, on what the critics call the “ exigence of the place.” For a supposed exigence of the place, in the text of an inspired writer, when it consists merely in the difficulty of the passage as we read it, may be nothing more, than the imperfect apprehension of the uninspired critic. With respect to the division indeed of sentences and words, an entire freedom of conjecture may be allowed ; in taking words, or letters, which, as the text is printed, terminate one sentence, or one word, as the beginning of the next : or the contrary. Because these divisions, in the antient languages, are not from the author, but have been supplied by scribes and editors of a late age ; and his critical judgement must be weak indeed, who in such matters, is not qualified to revise and reverse the decisions of the wise men of Tiberias. Numerals may sometimes be corrected by conjecture ; to make dates agree one with another, or a sum total agree with the articles of which it is composed. But this is not to be done without the greatest circumspection, and upon the evidence of calculations formed upon historical data, of which we are certain. A transposition of words may sometimes be allowed ; and all liberties may be taken with the points. Beyond this conjecture is not to be trusted, lest it make only a farther corruption of what it pretends to correct. At the utmost, a conjectural reading should be

offered only in a note (and that but rarely,) and the textual translation should never be made to conform to it. It is much safer to say, "This passage it is beyond my ability to explain;" than to say, "The Holy prophet never wrote what I cannot understand; I understand not the words, as they are redde—I understand the words thus altered; therefore, the words thus altered are what the Holy Prophet wrote."

I must observe, that the great similarity between some of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, in particular between כ and כ; ד and ד; ה and ה; ג and ג; ו and ו; י, י, and י; which is often alleged in defence of conjectural emendation; though it might be an argument of some weight, in justification of the exercise of that sort of criticism, in the time of Capellus, Hare, or even Houbigant, who all lived before any great number of Hebrew MSS. had been collated: is now, by the immortal labours of Kennicott and De Rossi, completely turned the other way. For if the text has been corrupted, by the error of a scribe confounding similar letters; it might be expected, that, in some of the multitude of copies from the MS. in which the error was first committed, the true reading would regain its place, by the same contingency of error, by which it lost it. If a transcriber in the tenth century writes a ד for a ד, and his MS. is copied by various transcribers in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries; surely the odds are great, that some of these blunder back again, and restore the ד. And if a conjecture of the present day, proposing to change a ד into a ד, cannot find a ד, in the place of the ד, in any one of the numerous MSS. that have been collated; he ought to give up his conjecture, whatever difficulty he may find in the text as it stands; for the uniformity of the MSS. where the chance of error is equal either way, is hard to be otherwise accounted for, than by the truth of the reading. I have already admitted that in some cases, though but

rarely, the antient versions may establish a reading without a single MS. But a reading that has no support either from version or MSS., now that MSS. have been diligently collated, ought to be rejected as indubitably false : unless the case falls within the limits of allowable conjecture, specified above. The work of Dr. Kennicott is certainly one of the greatest and most important, that have been undertaken, and accomplished, since the revival of letters. But its principal use and importance is this ; that it shuts the door for ever against conjecture, except under the restrictions which have been mentioned.

I annex a list of passages in which, in my translation, I follow the printed Hebrew text in preference to Abp. Newcome's emendations; whether his own, or those of others which he has adopted.

	<i>Reading of Printed Text.</i>	<i>Rejected Emendation.</i>	<i>Authors.</i>
Chap. I. 9.	אהי לכם	אלהיכם	Houbigant, upon mere conjecture.
Chap. II. 9.	לכסות	מכסות	Houbigant, from LXX.
Chap. IV. 4.	ועמך כמריבי	ועמי כמריבת	Archbishop Newcome, from LXX. Archbishop Newcome, upon the authority of a single MS.—The Syr. according to the Latin interpretation of it in the Polyglott, may seem to favour this reading. But the Latin is wrong. The true rendering of the Syriac is this: "Et populus tuus tanquam cum sacerdotibus rixans." The Latin preposition <i>cum</i> is virtually included in the Hithpael form of the participle. See chap. IV. note (C.)
18.	הבו	omitted.	Houbigant, with consent of Secker. Syr. LXX. and three MSS. See chap. IV. note (P.)
Chap. V. 3.	הזנית	הונה	Houbigant, upon authority of all the antient versions.
7.	חרש	החסל	Houbigant, upon the supposed authority of the LXX. See chap. V. note (D.)
Caph. VI. 3.	יורה	ירוה	Archbishop Secker, upon the authority of Syr. and Chald.
5.	משפטִי כאור משפטִיך אור		Archbishop Newcome, upon the authority of Syr. and Chald. See chap. VI. note (F.)
Chap. VII. 1.	כרפאי	כרפאי	Archbishop Newcome, upon the single authority of the printed Bible of Brescia 1494.
2.	ללכנם	בלכנם	Archbishop Newcome, upon the authority of the Complutensian Bible, and some MSS. See chap. VII. note (D.)

4.	אפרים	אפרים	Archbishop Newcome, upon the authority of one MS. and the version of the LXX.
14.	יתגוררו	יתגוררו	Michaelis. The authority of one MS. and one edition only is alleged, and the version of the LXX. Another edition, and six or seven other MSS. might have been produced from De Rossi. But there is no sufficient reason to disturb the printed text.
16.	לא על	לא יועיל	Archbishop Newcome, upon mere conjecture.
Chap. VIII.	5. 6. נקין : כי מִישראל	or נקין בִּישְׂרָאֵל : נקין כְּמוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל :	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of LXX.
6.	והוא	הוא	Houbigant, alleging the Syriac. But if an alteration were to be made upon the authority of the Syriac, it would be to omit the whole word והוא. One MSS. only of Kennicott's omits the ו, and originally one other of De Rossi's.
Chap. IX.	13.	בנאווה	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of the Vulg. and the supposed authority of Chald.
Chap. X.	5.	יחילו	Calmet, upon mere conjecture, without any authority and without any <i>exigentia loci</i> .
10.	באותי	באתי	Houbigant, upon mere conjecture, without authority, and without necessity.
—	באסרם	ביסרם or בהוֹסְרָם	Archbishop Newcome, upon the supposed authority of LXX. Vulg. and Syr.
11.	עברתי	העברתי	Archbishop Newcome upon mere conjecture, without any authority, and much for the worse.
—	טוב	מוט	Houbigant, upon mere conjecture.
—	ארכיב	ידרך	Archbishop Newcome. upon mere conjecture.
12.	כפי	לפרי	Archbishop Newcome, upon the supposed authority of LXX.
—	ועת	דעת	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of LXX.
14.	שלמן	צלמנע	Grotius. See chap. X. note (S.)
—	בית ארכאל	בֵּית יִרְבֵּעַל	Grotius, with some countenance perhaps from Vulg. and the Alex. LXX. See chap. X. note (S.)
15.	ביתאל	בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל	Houbigant, upon authority of LXX. See chap. X. (note S.)

— מפני רעת רעתכם		מפני רעתיכם	Archbishop Newcome; thus expunging from the text a frequent and most emphatic Hebraism, confirmed by Vulg. Syr. and LXX. except indeed the reading of the Aldine MS. and text be admitted.
Chap. XI.			
2.	קראו	בקראי	Houbigant, upon supposed authority of LXX and Syr.
3.	זרועתיו	זרועתי or בזרועתי	Archbishop Newcome, upon the alleged authority of the versions, the latter prophets of Soncinum, and one MS. of Kennicott's originally; Abn Walid and R. Tanchum; to which may be added, for the omission of the suffix ך three MSS. of De Rossi's originally. But the introduction of the prefix כ is entirely his own, without any authority at all. I should think by mistake; the learned Primate having overlooked the preposition על.
4.	כמרימי	כמרים	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of the versions, and one MS. of Kennicott's originally.
—	אוכל	אוכלו or אוכל לו	Archbishop Newcome, upon the supposed authority of the LXX.
5.	לא	omitted	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of LXX.
12.	רד	ירד	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of Vulg. and perhaps Syr.
Chap. XII.			
—	נאמן	ונאמן	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of Vulg.
4.	בכה	בכח	Houbigant, upon mere conjecture.
—	עמנו	עמו	Houbigant, upon supposed authority of Syr.
8.	יגיעי	יגיעו or יגיעיו	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of LXX.
—	לי	לו	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of LXX.
9.		המעלהך inserted	Archbishop Newcome, upon supposed authority of LXX. and Syr.
Chap. XIII.			
4.		המעלהך inserted	Archbishop Newcome, upon the authority of two MSS. with the supposed authority of the versions.
6.	כמרעיתם	במרעיתם	Houbigant, mere conjecture, and to the great detriment of the meaning.
9.	שחתך	שחתך	Houbigant, upon the supposed authority of the Syr.
—	בי	מי	Houbigant, upon supposed authority of Syr. and LXX.

13.	עַתָּה	עֵתָה	Houbigant. Archbishop Newcome cites the Syr. and Ald. LXX.
13.	אֱהִי	אֵיה	} Houbigant, upon the supposed authority of the versions, and the supposed authority of St. Paul. See chap. XIII. note (O.)
—	אֱהִי	אֵיה	
Chap. XIV.			
2.	פִּרְיָם שִׁפְתֵינוּ	פִּרְיָ מִשְׁפְּתֵינוּ or פִּרְיָ שִׁפְתֵינוּ	Le Clerc, mere conjecture. Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of LXX. and Syr. See chap. XIV. note (C.)
6.	כִּלְבִּנוֹן	כִּלְבְּנָה	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of Chald.
8.	לִי	לוֹ	Archbishop Secker, upon authority of LXX.

In addition to these fifty-one instances, in which I reject the proposed alteration of particular passages, as unnecessary in every one, and, in many, much for the worse; the metrical arrangement, attempted by the learned Primate, may be considered as one vast conjectural emendation, affecting the whole text of the prophet, in the form, though not in the substance, which I have not ventured to adopt. The stile of Hosca is indeed poetical in the very highest degree. In maxim solemn, sententious, brief; in perswasion, pathetic; in reproof, severe; in its allusions, always beautifull and striking, often sublime: rich in its images; bold in hyperbole, artificial, though perspicuous, in its allegory: possessing in short, according to the variety of the matter, all the characters by which poetry, in any language is distinguished from prose. And there cannot be a doubt, that the composition was originally in the metrical form. But as the division of the hemistichs is not preserved in the MSS. nor in any of the versions; I consider the metrical form as lost. And as the greatest adepts, in the mysteries of the Masoretic punctuation, have never discovered in this book (or, as far as I know, in any of the prophets) those peculiarities of accentuation, which are remarkable in the books confessedly retaining the metrical form; I suspect that it was lost early, not only in Hosca, but in all the prophets (Isaiah perhaps excepted) and the at-

tempt to restore it is too much, in my judgment, for modern criticism ; especially as the parallelism (the only circumstance the modern critic has to guide him in the construction of the distichs) is, in many parts of the book, if not indeed in the greater part of it, exceedingly imperfect, interrupted and obscure : an effect perhaps of the commatism of the stile. If in certain passages the parallelism is entire, manifest, and striking (as in some it certainly is, insomuch that some of Bishop Lowth's choicest examples, of this great principle of Hebrew verse, are taken from this prophet), I trust that my translation is so close, as in those parts to display the structure of the original, though the hemistichal division is not exhibited to the eye in the printed page : and that, notwithstanding this defect, if a defect it be, as much of the versification, if it may be so called, is preserved, as is with certainty discernible to the Biblical scholar in the Hebrew text, in its present state.

With respect to my translation, I desire that it may be distinctly understood, that I give it not, as one that ought to supersede the use of the public translation in the service of the church. Had my intention been to give an amended translation for public use ; I should have conducted my work upon a very different plan, and observed rules in the execution of it, to which I have not confined myself. This work is intended for the edification of the Christian reader in his closet. The translation is such as, with the notes, may form a perpetual comment on the text of the Holy Prophet. For a translation, accompanied with notes, I take to be the best perpetual comment upon any text in the dead language. My great object therefore in translating has been, to find such words and phrases, as might convey neither more nor less than the exact sense of the original (I speak here of the exact sense of the words, not of the application of the prophecy). For this purpose I have been obliged, in some few instances, to be paraphras-

tic. But this has only been, when a single word, in the Hebrew, expresses more, than can be rendered by any single word in the English, according to the established usage of the language. A translator, who, in such cases, will confine himself to give word for word, attempts in truth what cannot be done ; and will give either a very obscure, or a very defective translation. That is, he will leave something untranslated. The necessity of paraphrastic translation will particularly occur, wherever the sense of the original turns upon a paronomasia : a figure frequent in all the Prophets, but in the use of which Hosea, beyond any other of them, delights. With the same view of presenting the sense of my author in language perspicuous to the English reader, for Hebrew phrases I have sometimes judged it expedient to put equivalent phrases of our own tongue (where such could be found) rather than to render the Hebrew word for word. But these liberties I have never used, without apprising the learned reader of it in my Critical Notes, and assigning the reason. And sometimes in the case of phrases, I have given the English reader a literal translation of the Hebrew phrase in the explanatory notes. In some instances, but in very few, I have changed words, and forms of expression, in frequent use in our public translation, for others, equivalent in sense, of a more modern phraseology : ever keeping my great point in view, to be perspicuous to the generality of readers. The dignity resulting from Archaisms, is not to be too readily given up. But perspicuity is a consideration, to which every thing must be sacrificed. And if the phraseology of the Bible were not changed, from time to time, to keep pace in some degree, with the gradual changes of common speech ; it would become unintelligible to the common people. With respect to them at this day, the Holy Bible, translated into the English of Chaucer's age, would be a translation out of one dead language into another. Not to say that Archaisms, too

long retained, instead of raising the stile, become in the end mean, and even ludicrous. The Book of Psalms would be of little use to the vulgar, if it were translated into the vulgar tongue, after the manner of this specimen: "Why gnastes the gens, and the peple thougte ydil thingis.*" Though the text were accompanied with this luminous comment: "The Prophete, snybband hem that tourmentid crist, saies, *whit the gens*—thoo were the knyttes of rome that crucified crist. —*gnasted*," "as bestes with oute resoun. — *and the peple*, thoo were the Jews, *thoughte vaynte thoughtes*, &c." And the tragical story of John the Baptist, so admirably related in all its circumstances by the Evangelist, would not be heard with gravity in any congregation at this day, were the narrative to proceed in this language: "When the doughtyr of that Herodias was incomyn, and had tombylde and pleside to Harowde, and also to the sittande at mete, the kyng says to the wench, &c.'" There is a limit therefore to the love of Archaisms, beyond which it should not be indulged. But there is a limit also to innovation, which I hope I have not passed.

* Ps. ii. 1.

Gleanings.



1. On the General Scheme and Structure of the Apocalypse. *From The Jewish Expositor, for July, 1827.*

The scheme and structure of the Apocalypse have been discussed by many commentators, and it cannot be doubted that for the right interpretation of the book, the previous knowledge of its general scheme and structure, is indispensable. In presenting the following view of it, the writer offers it with deference to others, and in differing from those who have preceded him, he would do so with courtesy and respect, and without presuming to suppose that he alone can be right in all things. It has generally been found that one portion of the truth is seen with greater accuracy by one individual, and another by another; whilst no one discerns the whole. Discussion and research are necessary for the elucidation of every great subject, and it is by the contention of mind with mind, and of opinion with opinion, that truth is elicited and understood, and becomes finally established. As the waters of many streams form at length the majestic river, which rolls its flood into the ocean, so the operation of many minds is required for the enlargement of knowledge, and to render it accurate and perfect.

It seems universally acknowledged, that a great similarity obtains between the book of the prophet Daniel, and the book of Revelations. They treat of the same subjects, they both give chronological dates, and they both deliver their prophecies under figures, signs, and symbols. This general coincidence between them is remarked by almost every commentator, and they are always considered as mutually reflecting light upon each other. The general similarity of structure also, has not passed unobserved; and Mr. Frere, in his late publication, expressly refers to Daniel, as illustrative of the scheme of the Apocalypse. As the book of Daniel then, may be taken as a guide, it may

be well to examine briefly the structure of that book, before the scheme of the Apocalypse is discussed.

The book of Daniel contains, five distinct prophecies relating to after times: and it contains moreover, a prophecy in the fourth chapter, which is generally considered as having merely a personal reference to King Nebuchadnezzar, who was cotemporary with the prophet; and another prophecy in the fifth chapter, in which the hand-writing upon the wall is explained. The five prophecies are these.

—1. The great image which appeared to Nebuchadnezzar in his dream, the history and interpretation of which form the second chapter. 2. The vision of the four wild beasts, which with its interpretation forms the seventh chapter. 3. The vision of the ram and he-goat, which with the interpretation occupies chapter eight. 4. The prophecy of the seventy weeks, which with its prefatory introduction constitutes chapter nine. 5. The prophecy of the latter days, which runs through the whole of the three last chapters, x. xi. xii.

Each prophecy of the book of Daniel is in itself a separate and distinct prophecy. It has its beginning, its middle, and its end. It is in itself perfect and complete; and a full and complete interpretation may be given of each one, without a reference to any other. If one only of them had been delivered and handed down to the Church, the things which it reveals, *might* have been understood. These separate prophecies mutually illustrate each other, but no commentator has doubted that each has its own separate interpretation. The book of Daniel cannot, then, be justly and accurately interpreted with any scheme of interpretation, which combines the different prophecies into one as a continuous history, or which should put two or more together to form one narrative. It would be inaccurate to say that the destruction of the image in Dan. ii. 44, 45, is carried on in its history under the figure of the destruction of the little horn of the fourth beast in Dan. vii. 26, 27; and again in the destruction of the horn of the goat in Dan. viii. 25; and again in the standing up of Michael in Dan. xii. 1, although in a certain sense it might be true. These several passages are not the continuation of historical narrative, but the synchronisms of different prophecies; events synchronous and partly the same, being spoken of more or

less plainly, and with some variety of expression in each. The first of these passages (Dan. ii. 44, 45,) shows the destruction of the kingdoms of this world to make way for the kingdom of Messiah. At this time will come to pass the destruction of the Papal horn, (Dan. vii. 26, 27,) and that of the Mahomedan horn, (Dan. viii. 25,) and the deliverance of God's people; (Dan. xii. 1;) but it would not be correct interpretation to call the three latter passages a continuation of the prophetical narrative, and so to combine the four prophecies into one general history. A commentator might, perhaps, by some effort of ingenuity, give a consistent interpretation even under such a scheme as this; but he would create confusion and difficulties, which are avoided by taking the prophecies separately. No attempt has been made to interpret the book of Daniel upon such a plan; and if the book of Revelations is as like the book of Daniel in its structure as is generally supposed, it may well be doubted whether such a scheme of interpretation can properly be applied to the book of Revelations.

Consider the Apocalypse then, like the book of Daniel, to be a series of different and separate prophecies, how does the book divide itself, and what are the different portions of it respectively which are to be taken as separate prophecies? A cursory perusal of the book will suggest the obvious answer. There are seven churches—seven seals—seven trumpets—seven vials. Here are four *sets* of symbols, each of which must be set apart as a distinct prophecy; and then the division and adaptation of those parts of the book which remain, will be found without difficulty. The seven churches, with the introductory matter, occupy the three first chapters. The seven seals, with their introduction, constitute chapters iv. v. vi. and vii. and include the first verse of chapter viii. The trumpets go on from thence to the end of chapter xi.; and the vials form chapters xv. and xvi. Chapters xii. xiii. and xiv. intervene between the trumpets and the vials, and they may be taken together as one prophecy. Proceeding forward it will be found, that chapters xvii. and xviii. contain another prophecy—chapter xix. another—chapter xx. another—and chapters xxi. and xxii. another. Thus does the book of Revelations resolve itself into distinct sets of symbols, each containing a separate prophecy. And it will be found upon examina-

tion, that each of these prophecies is distinct and perfect in itself, like the prophecies of Daniel, and that each one, though a portion of the whole, and of the general series, has its own interpretation belonging strictly to itself, so as to be perfectly intelligible without reference to any of the others.

To illustrate further, it may be observed, that the seven churches form the first set of symbols : and whether they are to be considered as prophetic of things that belong to the Church of Christ generally, from the days of the apostles down to the end of time ; or whether, as many suppose, they apply merely to the seven churches of Asia, as they existed in the apostolic age, it is quite manifest that they form a distinct subject. Each church has its separate address, concluding, however, with this important admonition, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." When the seventh address is closed, the text proceeds to an entirely new subject. If the seven churches are to be considered as describing, under a prophetic type, the Church of Christ subsisting in seven different eras, or conditions, from the days of the apostles to the time of the millenium, an interpretation of the symbol under such a view of it is not difficult, and has indeed been already suggested in the volume entitled, "Messiah's Kingdom." Those who restrict the symbol to the seven Asiatic churches of the apostolic times, will probably be satisfied with Bishop Newton's interpretation. In both these views of it, the prophecy seems to have its fulfilment.

The seals form the next prophecy, and the introduction to them, which begins with chapter iv. and goes through chapter v. exhibits, under symbols of great majesty, the vast importance of the prophetic record, which being delivered into the hand of the Great Head of the Church, is opened, and revealed by him, for the consolation and instruction of his people. Each seal is represented as fastening up a separate roll of the prophetic leaves, and upon the opening of each seal, the things contained in the leaves which it had held together, are exhibited in symbol and declared. The description, however, is very short, particularly as it regards the four first seals, and much scope is left for the exercise of human ingenuity ; and consequently the

seals have been interpreted in a variety of different ways. A consistent interpretation may be given, by considering them descriptive of the Gospel in its course amongst the nations of the earth, going forth first in its purity, and becoming corrupted afterwards in the hands of carnal men and worldly priests. If the description of this be referred to the four first seals, the fifth seal may be considered as describing the prayers of the Church for deliverance, and the sixth seal the utter destruction of the ungodly, whilst the seventh seal will typify the millennial or sabbatical rest (Σαββατισμός) which remaineth to the people of God. (Heb. iv. 9.) In this view of the subject, the seventh chapter, which intervenes between the sixth and seventh seal, will describe in its proper place, the ingathering of the Church into that rest which is symbolized by the seventh seal.

The trumpets come next in order, and they extend from chapter viii. 2, to the end of chapter ix. The trumpet seems to indicate a proclamation, as by a herald; and they may be interpreted in reference to our Lord's command, to preach or proclaim the Gospel of his peace throughout the world. And thus the trumpets may be considered prophetic of events which should arise, in consequence of the preaching of that Gospel. Like the seals, they are divided into four and three, and the four first will be found to differ materially in their character from the three last. The four first trumpets appear to show the prevalence of worldly policy and wicked men, against the truths and the teachers of the pure Gospel of Christ, and under the fourth trumpet, the measure of iniquity being filled up, the three last trumpets, which are specially designated as trumpets of wo, declare the judgments of God upon the corrupters of his truth. The fifth trumpet relates the judgments brought by Mahomet, and his immediate followers, upon the corrupt and idolatrous Christians of the Eastern Empire. This is the first judgment upon these deluded people; but the judgment upon them under the sixth, which is the second wo trumpet, comes as a heavier infliction, and one of far longer duration: for the angels of destruction let loose upon them under the sixth trumpet, although they do not still carry on their work of destruction as at first, remain unto this day. The seventh trumpet and its effects

are related in the five last verses of chapter xi. announcing in terms more concise, and general, than were used under the sixth seal, the final overthrow of the ungodly, and the ingathering of the Church: but the establishment of Messiah's kingdom upon the earth is spoken of more distinctly than under the seals. As many events, however, of vast importance to the Church, were ordained to take place in the West, during the time of those judgments in the East; and as the seventh trumpet declares a great and general judgment upon the whole earth, a short detail of some of the synchronous events in the West might be expected, and it is given accordingly in chapter x. and the first part of chapter xi. Thus chapter x. calls upon us first to consider that when the seventh angel shall begin to sound, the mystery of God will be finished. The symbol then exhibits the book of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, given into the hand of the prophet, that it might be preached before many people, and nations, and tongues, and kings. This book is the New Testament, or Testimony: that which had been given before was the Old Testament, or Testimony, but each is equally the witness of Jesus Christ the Lord. During the times of judgment upon the East under the fifth and sixth trumpets, these two witnesses of the Lord are ordained to bear testimony in the West, under circumstances which are related in the first part of chapter xi. After declaring their divine power and agency, it is there said, that they were appointed to prophecy *in sackcloth* for the space of 1260 days: at the expiration of which they should be put to death and slain (and thus deprived of the power of preaching) by the beast of the bottomless pit, (the infidel power,) who should make war against them and overcome them, and kill them: but though dead, their bodies should not be put in graves. The text seems to intimate, that the witnesses should be put down by the authority of infidel rulers, and that at the end of three years and a half they should revive and resume their functions; after which they should continue their testimony with far greater power and effect than before. The prophecy seems clearly to have been fulfilled in the early part of the French Revolution: and to instruct the Church more particularly, lest the signification of the prophecy should be misunderstood. the period of its accomplishment seems very distinct-

ly marked in the text, as a time in which a judgment should fall upon one of the ten Papal kingdoms, in the course of which judgment the *names of men* should be slain ; that is, their titles of honour and distinction annulled. This circumstance being related, the text immediately proceeds to declare, that the second wo is past, and that the third and last wo cometh quickly. This last wo, as it has been already explained, seems nothing less than the final destruction of the ungodly, at the coming of the Son of Man in power and great glory.

Chapters xii. xiii. and xiv. intervene between the trumpets and the vials ; and the reason of this arrangement is obvious. The vials exhibit the outpouring of God's judgments upon the Papal persecutors of his Church, and as the Papal power had not been spoken of very distinctly, it was necessary to describe it more particularly before declaring its desolation. In considering these chapters briefly, it seems sufficient to observe, that chapter xii. is introductory, that chap. xiii. shows a power symbolized as a wild beast, which afterwards associates itself with another similar power, and these two (the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of the Papal kingdom) acting together as one, and with one mind, persecute the Church of God for forty-two prophetic months, being the same period of 1260 prophetic days, or natural years, during which the two witnesses already spoken of were appointed to prophecy in sackcloth : and that chapter xiv. after exhibiting the Church as placed in circumstances of protection and safety, intimates the final overthrow of the persecutor. The ingathering of the Church, and the destruction of the enemy, are described as God's harvest and vintage, and are related somewhat in the same manner, as in the parable of the wheat and the tares. The corn of the harvest is reaped and deposited in the garner, and then the vine of the earth is cut up by the roots and thrown into the wine-press of wrath.

The seven vials come next to be considered ; chap. xv. introduces them, and chap. xvi. relates their outpouring, and the effects of it. The vials, like the seals and the trumpets, are divided into four and three ; the four first being of a more general character than the three last ; and the seventh vial announces the final overthrow of God's enemies, the angel who pours it out declaring, "It is done!"—

finished. The judgment which thereupon takes place, is evidently the same, which has already been described under the sixth seal, the seventh trumpet, and the vintage, in chap. vi. 12, xi. 15, and xiv. 19.

The next symbol embraces chapters xvii. and xviii. forming another prophecy, and showing the judgment and overthrow of the great persecuting power mentioned in chap. xiii. which is here termed the great whore. This power is now exhibited under a type, which varies a little from the former one, and represents it as in its last estate, that is, under the form of government it must ultimately assume before it is finally destroyed. The destruction itself is related with some detail, and in the words of the prophet Jeremiah, when prophesying of the fall of Babylon.

After the judgment of the great idolatrous and persecuting church, another symbolic representation describes the judgment of the rest of the ungodly—the remnant of Messiah's enemies—which, according to chap. xix. seems to be brought to pass by the personal manifestation of the Son of Man, coming in the greatness of his strength. It should be particularly remarked, that two judgments are here declared, or that (perhaps to speak with greater accuracy) the great latter-day judgment is divided into two branches, one upon the Papal Church, and the other upon the ungodly who remain. It should seem that the corrupt church is first judged separately by itself, and that afterwards the rest are judged. These three chapters, therefore, xvii. xviii. and xix., may be considered as the more particular revelation of the great latter judgment, which will fall upon the whole of the ungodly, and which has already been spoken of in more general terms in the former parts of the Apocalypse.

The things which are ordained to come to pass after the great overthrow of God's enemies, are treated of in the three last chapters of the Revelations. Chapter xx. describes the setting up of Messiah's kingdom, and the shutting up and binding of the Evil One, during the time of Messiah's reign; so that in this most blessed era there shall be no sin, no sorrow, no death, nor any evil; and they who have the privilege of living in those glorious times, may taste of happiness without alloy, and partake of joys unspeakable, such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nei-

ther hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive. The symbol here shows plainly the resurrection of the righteous dead, which shall take place at the coming of the Son of Man ; and passing forward, as it were, with a rapid and hasty glance to those things that shall take place hereafter, when the appointed times of His reign being completed, Messiah shall, according to 1 Cor. xv. 24, be about to deliver up the kingdom to the Father, it describes a new apostasy—another rebellion and falling away of man from God—which in consequence of Satan being loosed from his prison-house, so that he may again traverse the earth, as now, shall take place amongst the children of men in these last times, for a short season, through the agency of that subtle tempter. The symbol marks the destruction of those who thus rebel, together with the final overthrow of the Evil One, by whom they have been seduced from their duty : and the text then declares the utter passing away of the present mundane system, together with the second resurrection, which includes all the dead ; and it reveals the second judgment which shall then take place. Then shall be set the dread tribunal, before which every son and daughter of fallen Adam must be brought, who has not been found worthy to taste the blessings of the first resurrection, and to partake of the joys of the millennial reign. At this judgment every one shall be judged according to his works, and every one whose name is not found written in the book of life, shall be cast into the lake of fire with the Evil One.

The two remaining chapters, xxi. and xxii. are confined entirely to a description of the beauties and the glories of the New Jerusalem, the chief city or capital of the millennial kingdom : and by reference to the early part of the book of Genesis, it will be seen that whatever was lost by the first Adam, will be more abundantly restored to his posterity in this time of blessedness, by Him who is the Second Adam, in whose immediate presence the children of men who are redeemed, shall partake of the fulness of joy, and of pleasures which are at his right hand for evermore.

It remains only to add, that if the reader is desirous of seeing, how the current events of history adapt themselves to the plan of interpretation which has been suggested, he may refer to the publication entitled "Messiah's King-

dom :'' and the writer is well assured, that if what he has written on the former or the present occasion, be according to the mind of the Spirit of God, it will not fail to commend itself to those who are under the teaching of that Spirit. It is not to maintain a point of controversy, but to elicit and to establish truth, that he ventures to resume the pen, and he earnestly entreats every Christian reader to examine and to judge for himself, rather than adapt the opinion of any commentator, however distinguished by name or talent. One great truth as applicable to the present era, every writer upon prophecy seems to confess without reserve ; that the time is now come for great and momentous changes, which are at hand, even at the doors : and that the day of the Lord cometh, even as a thief in the night.

J. B-YF-RD.

II. Remarks on Mr. B-yf-rd's Scheme of the Apocalypse. From *The Jewish Expositor*, for September, 1827.

From the general similarity which obtains between the books of Daniel and Revelation, and their having relation to the same events and times, Mr. B. argues that their structure is alike, and since the book of Daniel confessedly consists of a number of distinct prophecies, therefore he maintains that the Apocalypse is in like manner to be considered as a series of different prophecies.

But the five prophecies of Daniel, enumerated by Mr. B. were given to him at different intervals of time spread through a period of nearly seventy years. The vision of Nebuchadnezzar, in the year A. C. 603, that of the four beasts in A. C. 555, that of the ram and he-goat in 553, that of the seventy weeks in 538, and the prophecy of the latter days in A. C. 534. Although therefore one and all of these visions possess certain features of similarity and mutual relation, and belong to the same great period of time, (not however covering all the same space in it,) being that called by our Lord *the times of the Gentiles*, yet they are manifestly distinct prophecies, reflecting light indeed upon

one another, but capable of distinct and separate interpretations. They are also nowhere termed one prophecy.

On the other hand, the visions of the Apocalypse are always and invariably described as *one prophecy*. (See ch. i. 3. xxii. 7, 9, 10, 19.) The whole was given at one and the same time, being on one Lord's-day. The volume itself is called *the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ*,* *which God gave unto him*. It is frequently mentioned under the general title of *this prophecy*, (ch. i. 3.) or *the prophecy of this book*—both words being in the singular number—(ch. xxii. 7, 10, 18;) and in order that there may be no mistake as to what are its contents, *the volume itself, sealed with seven seals*, is exhibited to John in the right hand of him who sitteth upon the throne. John then learns that the Lamb which had been slain, is alone counted worthy to open the book and loose the seals; and we are next informed that *the Lamb came and took the book out of the right hand of him who sat upon the throne*. Here then we have a symbolical action referring to, and corresponding with, the title prefixed to the whole prophecy, that it is *the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him*. The *book with seven seals* is by this action identified with *the Apocalypse*, or, *the book of this prophecy*; and the hypothesis of Mr. B. which dissevers the trumpets and vials from the seals, is at once negatived. For it is plain, that if the seven trumpets and the seven vials are prophecies (as Mr. B. thinks) distinct from the seals, then are they no part of the book with seven seals, *i. e.* of *the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ which God gave unto him*. Then are they separate books, or volumes, of the delivery of which to the Lamb we have no record whatever; and the various passages already referred to, wherein the whole prophecy is described as *the book*, are falsified; seeing that there are more books than one; all which conclusions being evidently untrue and impossible, the hypothesis from which they flow is also false.

I remark, in the next place, that the hypothesis of your correspondent is altogether opposed to some of the leading symbols of the book. He refers the seventh seal, which his scheme necessarily limits to chap. viii. 1, to the millennial

* Αποκάλυψις, "*Patefactio rei operatæ*," "*remotio velaminis et tegumenti*,"—SCHLEUSNER,

rest of the Church. Now herein are two anomalies of no ordinary magnitude,—1st. In no passage of Scripture, where the sabbatism of the Church is unequivocally predicted, do I find it expressed by *silence in heaven*. In Hab. ii. 20, and Zech. ii. 13, *all the earth and all flesh* are commanded to be silent before the Lord during the execution of his terrible judgments. In both texts, however, the Seventy have chosen the verb *Ευλαζεσμαι* (to fear,) and not *Σιγαω* (to be silent,) in order to express the Hebrew **הסה**. In Jer. viii. 14, and Lam. iii. 28, *silence* is represented as the posture which befits those that are under the chastisements of the Lord. On the contrary, the triumphant rest, or sabbatism of the Church, is, I think, always depicted to us under the symbols of *loud and joyful songs of praise*, Is. xii. 6, *Cry out, and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion*; xxiv. 16, *From the uttermost parts of the earth have we heard songs*; Ps. xcvi. 4. *Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all the earth; make a loud noise, rejoice and sing praise*; Rev. vii. 9, 10. *I beheld, and lo a great multitude stood before the throne and before the Lamb, and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb*; xix. 6, *I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth*. 2d. The second anomaly which I charge on the hypothesis of Mr. B. is that it identifies in signification the period of one *half hour*, in Rev. viii. 1, and of *one thousand years*, in xx. 4. Now if there be this looseness in the interpretation of Apocalyptic terms of chronology, why not also of Apocalyptic symbols, and what becomes of every principle of certain, or even probable, interpretation? and where is the use of the book itself to the Church of Christ?

Having, I hope, said enough, to show that the hypothesis of Mr. B. is opposed to the description given to us of the book itself, as well as irreconcilable with its symbols and chronology, I shall now remark further, that it seems to me that this hypothesis is wholly useless; because in point of fact the separation of the trumpets and vials from each other, and both from the seals, does not in any degree simplify its construction or facilitate the interpretation of its symbols.

or their reference to the events of history. The scheme of Archdeacon Woodhouse, which evolves the whole book from the seals, is quite as applicable to a simple and facile explanation of its contents; as this theory which divides it into three or four distinct prophecies; and as it is an axiom of human philosophy, in accounting for phenomena, not to multiply principles, or efficient causes, without absolute necessity; so it ought to be in the divine science of prophetic interpretation, to avoid the unnecessary multiplication of prophetic machinery.

I shall next observe, that if the book with seven seals, which was given to the Lamb by him that sitteth upon the throne, be *the Apocalypse, properly so called*, then the seven epistles to the churches do not, strictly speaking, belong to it, being no part of the prophecy given to Jesus Christ by God the Father. In reality, Christ himself, as the omniscient prophet and eternal High-priest and Head of his Church, walking in the midst of the seven candlesticks, has an intimate knowledge of all the affairs, and of the spiritual state of his Church, and every individual belonging to it. We speak it therefore, with reverence, that it was no part of the economy of the new covenant, that he should receive a revelation from the Father of the matter of *these epistles*, which all flowed *from himself*, in the capacities above mentioned. The Apocalypse, properly so called, commences therefore, at the opening of the first seal, (vi. 1,) and contains the whole remaining chapters of the book down to the xxiid, the concluding part of which chapter, perhaps from ver. 8, may be considered as a sort of epilogue to the divine drama.

Two other remarks and I conclude. First, I forbear entering into the particular interpretations of the Apocalyptic visions offered by Mr. B. because it seems to me superfluous to do so until its structure be settled; and, secondly, I am not unacquainted with the critical remarks of Mr. Tilloch, and his attempt to give another explanation of the phrase in Rev. v. 1, *I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book*, &c. Mr. Tilloch's amended translation of this phrase is founded upon the assertion that the Greek prepositions NEVER, when joined with an accusative, express position *on* or *in* place.* Now to this asser-

* Tilloch's Dissert. Introd. to Study of Apocalypse, p. 158.

tion I oppose the following examples : Rev. iv. 4, Καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους—and in the same verse, ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν στεφάνους—chap. vii. 1, εἶδον τεσσαρὰς ἀγγέλους ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ τὰς τεσσαρὰς γωνίας τῆς γῆς—ch. ix. 7, ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν—and the same phrase in xiii. 1, and in xiv. 1. ἀρνίον ἐξ ἑκὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει Σιών. I might multiply quotations to the same effect, but I deem the above quite sufficient to justify the utter rejection of Tilloch's far-fetched rendering of Rev. vi. 1, "I saw a book *concerning* the right hand (*or power*) of him that sat on the throne," than which I have seen few examples of translation that do greater violence to common sense and probability. I will add, that the Syriac version of this book, which was made while the Greek was still a living language, gives not the least support to Tilloch's gloss.

C. W.

III. Reply of J. B. to C. W.'s Remarks upon J. B.'s Scheme of the Apocalypse. From the *Jewish Expositor* for October 1827.

C. W. first objects to my taking the scheme of the book of Daniel, as a rule of interpretation for the Apocalypse. I meant merely to refer to it, as illustrative of the manner in which the prophetic books of the Old Testament are constructed. They are all written in detached parts, or prophecies : and perhaps Zechariah might have afforded a better example of this, than Daniel. I preferred taking Daniel, however, on account of the coincidences which C. W. has so well pointed out.

Your correspondent says, that all the visions of the Apocalypse were given at one, and the same time ; that is, "on one Lord's day." I presume C. W.'s authority for this assertion, is the following expression of St. John, at the commencement of the Apocalypse, "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day," Rev. i. 10. But I cannot admit that these words authorize us to assume, that the visions were all set before the Evangelist *on one certain Sunday*. Although I confess myself unequal to pronounce, what may be the *exact* meaning of the passage, I can easily suppose that it may be explained, by reference to what St. Paul says, in 2 Cor. xii., of his being caught up into the third heavens : and that "ἐν τη κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ," translated, "on the

Lord's day," may refer to the glory which was revealed and made manifest to the Evangelist. St. John, I apprehend, was caught up in the Spirit and knew that he was so caught up; but St. Paul appears not to have known, whether he was caught up in the flesh, or in the Spirit. This view of the matter appears to me to afford a probable interpretation; but if it does not, your correspondent, to sustain his position, must show, that *κυριακή ημερα* was used in the apostolic age, to signify what we now understand by "the Lord's day."* I remark further, that the visions of the Apocalypse were many and various; and to set them before the prophet, so that he might have an opportunity to mark and observe each sufficiently, to be able afterwards to recollect and commit the particulars to writing, must have occupied a considerable time; and that the expressions which are to be found in different parts of the Apocalypse, may be insisted upon as leading to the conclusion, that in revealing the several visions to St. John, the division, or separation of one from the other, was very distinctly marked. We read, Rev. iv. 1, "After this I looked," &c. Again, in Rev. vii. 1, "And after these things I saw four angels," &c. And again, in Rev. xv. 1, "And I saw another sign in heaven." Several other passages of this kind may be adduced, and there is a striking one in Rev. xxi. 9, "And there came unto me one of the seven angels, which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me, saying, Come hither, and I will show thee the bride, the Lamb's wife." The angel here speaks of a distinct and new vision. I would ask what Scripture proof is there, or what is there beyond mere assertion, to show that many hours, days, or weeks, may not have intervened between one vision and another?

C. W. observes that the Apocalypse must be one continued prophecy, because it is termed in Rev. i. and Rev. xxii., "this prophecy"—"the prophecy of this book"—and "this book." I think it might as reasonably be contended,

* The expression, "the Lord's day" occurs no where else in the English Bible. The word *κυριακή* occurs only twice in the Greek Testament, the second time in 1 Cor. xi. 20, (*κυριακὸν δεῖπνον*—the Lord's Supper.)

"The day of the Lord," (*ἡμερὰ τοῦ κυρίου*) occurs four times in the New Testament, and nearly twenty times in the Old. It invariably signifies the day of the coming, or of the Kingdom of Messiah.

that there is only one continued prophecy in Isaiah, because in Luke iii. 4, "the book of the words of Esaias the prophet" is spoken of: or that there is only one continued prophecy in the Psalms, because in Luke xx. 42, and Acts i. 20, we read of "the book of Psalms."

Your correspondent asserts, that the book of Apocalypse is exhibited in vision in Rev. v., as one book, taken by the Lamb out of the hand of Him who sat on the throne. To this I cannot assent, for I consider the book described in Rev. v. to be not the book of the Apocalypse, but the book of the Old Testament Scripture. I would ask, if, as C. W. supposes, this book of Revelations, (properly so called, as he terms it,) viz. the portion from Rev. vi. 1. to the end, be indeed the book so exhibited in Rev. v., what is the little open book described in Rev. x.? Some commentators consider this little book to be a part of the Apocalypse; and some define it to be the largest portion. I would ask again, how this opinion of your correspondent is to be reconciled with the command given to St. John, in Rev. i. 11? "What thou seest, write in a book." And with the similar commands in Rev. xiv. 13. xix. 9. and xxi. 5? "Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth."—"Write, blessed are they which are called to the Marriage Supper of the Lamb."—"Write, for these words are true and faithful." How again is it to be reconciled with the command not to write, in Rev. x. 4? "Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not." According to the hypothesis of C. W., the Book was already written; according to the statement of the Evangelist, certain visions and symbolical representations were set before him, and he was commanded to write down the several particulars; he did so, and *he wrote* the book of Apocalypse.

C. W. objects further, that the silence in heaven of Rev. viii. 1. cannot signify the rest, or Sabbatismos, of the Church, because that Sabbatismos is always described under loud and joyful sounds of praise. It seems to me, however, that rest and peace, and not triumphant shouting, are, in point of fact, the distinguishing features of the Sabbatismos of the Church: and I am persuaded, C. W. will be of the same opinion, when he has consulted Cruden's Concordance, under the words *rest, quietness, and peace*. He will find fifty

texts of Scripture at least, in confirmation of my opinion. The passages which he has adduced, describe the shouting for victory and in his contemplation of this triumph, your correspondent seems to have overlooked the rest which follows it.

The next observation is, that the silence in Rev. viii. 1. cannot signify the millennial rest of the church because the text describes it, as a "period of one half hour," while the Sabbatismos is described in Rev. xx. 4. as a period of a thousand years. I desire to remind your correspondent, that according to the original text, the silence was not "for the period of one half hour," as he states it, nor "about the space of half an hour," as the English Testament renders it, but *ὡς ημικωρον* *as it were*, half an hour. By this expression, the exact duration is evidently not meant to be indicated. It is an indefinite period: whether long or short, or longer or shorter, is mere argument and opinion. It appears to me, that Rev. viii. 1. declares *the fact* of the Sabbatical rest of the church, and that Rev. xx. 4. declares the *duration* of the reign of Messiah and his saints. It is not necessary for me to hazard an opinion, whether the reign of Messiah, and the rest of the Church, are one and the same thing, and thus or otherwise identified in duration; but to support his statement, it is incumbent on C. W. to prove, that they are so. It is not profitable to indulge in loose conjecture, or it might be suggested, that possibly the *rest* may be for a short period, prior to the commencement of the duties of the reign: but what *can we know* of these future things beyond the bare and literal meaning of the words of Scripture?

On the whole I have to regret, that C. W. should have pronounced so decidedly, that my "hypothesis is wholly useless," and that "it does not in any degree simplify the construction, or facilitate the interpretation of the symbols of the Apocalypse;" for I can in truth and sincerity assure him, that there is a difference of opinion upon this matter; and that there are some very intelligent persons, who think that the scheme I have adduced, is lucid, plain, and simple; and that it is so entirely free from the perplexity, and complexity, which belong to some other schemes, as to be well entitled to consideration.

J. B.

- IV. Review of "The Jew, the Master-key to the Apocalypse," in answer to Mr. Frere's "General Structure," the "Dissertations" of the Rev. Edward Irving, and other Commentators. By J. A. BROWN. pp. xvi. 144. Hatchard; Seeley; Nisbet. From "*The Jewish Expositor*, for Oct. 1827."

It cannot but be a subject of deep interest to every reflecting Christian, that the attention of so many individuals, deservedly esteemed for their piety and talents, is at the present period turned to the investigation of the prophetic parts of the sacred Scriptures; and this interest must be increased, when it is observed, how much the circumstances and situation of the Jews, have been found instrumental in promoting it. As Editors of the Jewish expositor, and finding ourselves bound to act an impartial part, we do not marshal ourselves on the side of any particular school of prophetic commentators; yet we cannot but turn with satisfaction to the investigation of any temperate production relative to the subject in question, because we know that every effort sincerely made, to expound the sacred text, must serve to elicit truth, and in some degree, to elucidate a topic which is interwoven with the future well-being of the church, and the glory of the eternal God.

Prophecies already fulfilled are viewed retrospectively with admiration and delight, because in every instance of their completion, all the attributes of Jehovah are seen to harmonize, the sovereignty of God appears, and it is manifest that "he works all things after the counsel of his own will:" at the same time, a veil of mystery hangs over prophecies that are yet unfulfilled, and of which, though one and another talented individual, has ventured to lift up the corner, it "still remains untaken away:" and it must be conceded, that if the strong sight of those who have ventured to approach the secrets of the holy place, have been at all able to discern the motions of "the living spirit in the wheels;" the dazzling brightness issuing therefrom, though it may have thrown a glorious splendour around, has not so sufficiently illuminated the scene, as to enable them clearly to discriminate and point out those prophecies which are now fulfilling, or the time and manner of their accomplishment, as noted in the Scriptures of truth.

It may seem somewhat extraordinary, that after all the patient investigation that has been given by competent persons to this topic, there should have been so little attained ; that though the points under consideration be so many, there should be agreement respecting so few ; that of all who have written, almost every one has set up some new hypothesis, and laid down some new data ; and ventured upon some new premises, which have led to new conclusions : whether these circumstances furnish cause for congratulation or regret, need not be determined in the mere *notice* we profess to give of books : they should certainly disarm every one of a spirit of positiveness ; check every degree of rashness, and lead every one who ventures to speak and publish on the subject, to guard against the idea of *his own inspiration* in the *exposition of prophecy*, merely because he may have been diligent and sincere in his endeavours to *understand prophecy*. -

The standard writings of former authors who have written at large, or more particularly on prophetic subjects, are become generally known, as well as those of a more modern date ; and it were most devoutly to be wished there were some points of unison among them ; but when instead of this, there is so much discordance on almost every point ; when one sees such a variety of dates fixed as the periods of calculation for the great prophetic period of 1260, 1290, and 1335 years ; when we observe one commentator calculating by *solar*, another by *lunar* years ; one interpreting the "two witnessess" of Rev. xi. as the Waldensian and Albigensian Churches ; another as the Old and New Testament ; a third as the preached and written Word ; a fourth as the Jewish and Christian Churches ; and a fifth as Joseph and Judah : one expounding "the woman clothed with the sun," Rev. xii. as the *Christian Church* ; another maintaining her to be the emblem of the *Jewish Church* ; and a third more positively deciding her to be the *papal harlot* ; we cannot wonder, as Archdeacon Woodhouse remarks, "If from the interpretations most commonly received, many of the learned have hitherto withheld their assent ; and doubts have been expressed whether we are yet in possession of the fortunate clues to be derived from human sagacity, or Divine inspiration, or of the necessary aids of learning, or of the events in history. which, at some future

period, may be destined to ascertain the completion of these prophecies :” and we may add, that it has, perhaps, pleased God in the mysterious dispensations of his will, to shut up the book and seal the full development of it till the time of the end, that the prophecies thereof may be perfectly understood, only by the entire fulfilment of them.

Very numerous have been the Expositors of the Book of the Revelation of St. John ; and the Apocalypse being the only book of the New Testament professedly and exclusively prophetic, it would be natural that every student of prophecy should give it an undivided attention. Whatever want of agreement there may have been as to the structure of the book, the meaning of its several symbols, and the general design of the whole work ; almost all have concurred in the idea that it has especial reference to the Christian Church. The work, however, now before us, takes somewhat new ground, and the author falling in with the truth uttered by Joseph Mede, and enforced by Sir Isaac Newton, that “ Daniel is the Apocalypse compressed, and St John Daniel explicated ;” maintains that it belongs not to the Christian, but the *Jewish church* ; and that the Jew is *the key of interpretation to it*. In order to establish this point, Mr. Brown asserts, that “ the Jew must be the key-stone of every prophetic structure ;” and with this master-key, he flatters himself that he can unravel things the most intricate, and penetrate into secrets which have hitherto eluded the sagacity and patient investigation of others.

While Mr Brown, in his preface, unhesitatingly avers, that it is “ to darken counsel,” to propagate the opinion that the 1290 years can have been fulfilled, whilst the Mohammedan abomination exists on the surface of the prophetic earth, and therefore rejects the data of the commencement of this period as adopted by Messrs. Cuninghame, Cooper, Frere, Irving, and others, as well as the long and generally received opinion of “ the abomination that maketh desolate,” being the *Roman power* ; in the eager desire he feels to rescue the Jewish Church from her present low degradation, and to restore to her those rightful possessions which he thinks have been violently wrested from her by those, who would appropriate her privileges and blessings to the church of God in Great Britain ; he seems to have imbibed a sort of morbid sensibility on the subject, and in a most unnatural manner predicts, not

to say invokes, those judgments on his native Christian land which have fallen upon the Jews as a punishment for their *rejection of CHRIST*, and *apostacy from GOD*. We hope our author has not made himself familiar with the scene which he describes in the following quotation; and that if he have, he will supplicate the throne of mercy, that the evil may be averted. "Perhaps," he says "the time is coming, when even this nation, boasting of her wooden walls, and her military prowess, and, with singular inconsistency, her pure and holy faith, once, indeed delivered to her forefathers, but shamefully abused, and made a stepping stone to power and authority, may be burnt up with the Turkish, 'fire and brimstone' of the King that shall do according to his will; and like Zidon *her type*, the Lord God, may be glorified in the midst of her, by sending into her pestilence, and *blood into her streets* (cities), and the wounded (his own holy people) be judged in the midst of her, (*even in LONDON, her metropolis*) by the sword upon her on every side, that she may know that He is the Lord. Ezek. xxviii. 23. The year of recompences for the controversy of Zion, it is true, may not be yet come, but the cause of his wounded people will be avenged, and it will come, and will not tarry." If it can be pointed out, that by any *national act* England has "boasted of her wooden walls," and thus withdrawn her trust from the Most High to repose it in her naval strength; if it can be proved that she has by any *national act*, "with singular inconsistency, boasted of her pure and holy faith, and yet shamefully" *as a nation* and by a *national act*, "abused it and made it a stepping stone to authority and power;" if it can be pointed out, that England has by any *national act*, rejected Christ and execrated his name, as alas! the Jewish nation *has done, and is still doing*; if it can be proved, that amidst all the individual delinquencies of men in every rank and station of society, "iniquity has" yet "been established by law," then may we fear the realization of such awful events: till then, we will praise our God that "he has given us a nail in his holy place," and believe that he can and will graff his ancient people again, they continuing not in unbelief, into the good olive, without cutting us off; and that he will prove the truth of his own word, "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, that there may be one

fold, and one shepherd." It is a glorious scripture truth, that however, for some great end, the Jewish people dwell alone, and are distinct from all nations, yet this distinction is merged on their believing in Christ, and there is hence forth neither Jew nor Gentile, but all are one in Christ Jesus.

In prosecuting the object proposed, our author investigates first, "the general purport of prophecy;" he then enquires concerning "the general principle of the Apocalypse;" and then gives a short running comment on each of the chapters of the Apocalypse.

Under the head of "the general purport of prophecy," he points out the truism how the visions of Daniel relate to the fall of the Jewish kingdom and to the rise of *four tyrannies*, which were to keep that holy people in subjection; that finally the oppression should cease, and a fifth universal monarchy become triumphant. He then enquires whether the mystery be not also foretold by other prophets? and traces it through the writing of Moses, Lev. xxvi. Deut. xxviii. and xxix.; suggests that it may be found also in the book of Job, in the prophecies of Isaiah, particularly in chap. xi., where the prophet speaks of the four tyrannies under the well known emblems of the *lion*, the *wolf*, the *leopard*, and the *bear*; in Jeremiah, see ch. xv. 3.; in Ezekiel, under the symbol of the cherubim, ch. i.; in Hosea, under the figures of a *lion*, a *leopard*, a *bear*, and a *wild beast*; in Joel, under those of the *palmer-worm*, the *locust*, the *canker-worm*, and the *caterpillar*, which should lay the vine of Israel waste, and bark her fig tree. He holds, that the same is seen in the *red*, the *brown*, the *speckled*, and *white horses* of Zechariah; that these, in number, agree with the *four winds* of heaven, denoting precisely similar circumstances in the very language of Daniel. He then remarks, that every one of these prophets has closed his prophecy with blessings to the house of Israel, and mentions them *exclusively*: whence he concludes, that their's is the kingdom that is to fill the whole prophetic earth, that is, the site of the tyrannical empire after the dissolution of the four monarchies; and closes this branch of his subject with an expression of surprise, that almost every commentator has lost sight of that people, and will scarcely allow them a place in the prophetic record.

Our author, in tracing out the four monarchies as adverted to by the prophets, esteems the number four almost as a mystical and sacred number, and attempts to point it out even where it does not exist. Hence he quotes Jer. v. 6. in confirmation, where the prophet speaks of a *lion*, a *wolf*, and a *leopard*; but the misfortune is, these make but *three*, which is one short of four. Again, in Ezekiel's vision of the Cherubim, he says, it is very obvious that the *four wheels* are symbols of empires; whereas in the vision of the Cherubim, there is not one word about *four wheels*. Ezek. i. 5. the prophet says, "Out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures, and they had the likeness of a man." In verse 15. it is added, "As I beheld the living creatures—behold *one wheel* upon the earth by the living creatures," &c.; and ver. 16, "Their appearance and their work was as it were, a wheel, in the middle of a wheel;" which means, there were *two* wheels placed transversely, one within the other, so that the figure of the Cherubim could move backward, forward, and to either side, without turning. If it be maintained, on the authority of ver. 5, that there were *four* cherubim, this will not help the matter; for there being a wheel in the middle of a wheel must necessarily multiply them to *eight*, which will be equally fatal to the mystic *four*.

It is somewhat amusing to observe, how often, when an author has a system to support, he will have recourse to the most extraordinary methods to establish it. What is to be distinctly understood by the cherubic figures, has never yet been satisfactorily determined. Some have maintained that they are emblematical of the *angels*; others, of the *four evangelists*; and the Hutchinsonians, as is ingeniously described by Parkhurst, and on the authority of the etymology of the word, taken in connection with their situation on the ark of the testimony and with Ezekiel's visions, both in chapters first and tenth of his prophecy, hold them to be "the likeness of the great ones," ג' likeness, רוב great, ג' ones, the plural termination, which idea seems to gather some support from Ezek. i. 28, "This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord;" but surely never till now was it suggested that they were designed to point out the *four tyrannies*, and emblems of wrath! and it must have required no ordinary stretch of the imagination to

suppose, as is stated in p. 74, that because it is said the cherubim were "sometimes round about the throne," and "sometimes in the midst of the throne," they are to be considered as the four tyrannies, or "agents of wrath contending for the possession of it!"

The next branch of the subject is, an enquiry concerning "the general principle of the Apocalypse."

On entering upon this portion of his work, our author remarks, that "If Daniel's prophecy accord with the testimony of the rest of the prophets, in relation to the four empires, &c. then must the Divine Spirit on the very principle suggested by Mr. Mede and Sir Isaac Newton, have imparted similar views to St. John; and the Apocalypse must necessarily be a transcript of the mind of God, as given by other prophets, &c. This then is the test by which every system of interpretation ought to be tried, and by which it is proposed to examine the structure of the Apocalypse, and the general structure of Mr. Frere."

Pray is not this what logicians call, "*petitio principii*;" or begging the question? It is granted that we are not to imagine the Divine Spirit would, *on precisely the same subjects*, impart different, or opposite views to Daniel and St. John; but does it follow, that that Divine Spirit, in his communications to St. John, who lived almost six hundred years after Daniel, must necessarily limit himself to the periods of Daniel? It may be said that Daniel's prophecies extended to the utmost limits of time: they may, indeed, give a faint outline of what Jehovah purposed to do upon the earth, and forasmuch as little is said about any but the Jews, it may seem as if that nation were the end and aim of all prophecy; but when it is remembered, that the prophecies are full of predictions and promises to *the Gentiles*, and that out of Gentile "stones God can raise up children to Abraham," and that as a matter of experience, God has built up to himself among the Gentiles a glorious church, which in our land, at least, with all that church's imperfections in the administration thereof, "has laboured and been patient, and has not fainted;" which has had her confessors, and martyrs, and a numerous progeny of faithful children; which has "earnestly contended for the faith once delivered to the saints;" which has suffered no inroads on the doctrines of Divine grace; doctrines

which are according to godliness ; (unless the repeal of the laws against blasphemy, whereby the professed infidel, and no less impious Socinian, can now with impunity hurl the darts of his rebellion against the Godhead of Emmanuel ;) when these things are remembered, we own ourselves a little jealous of that system, which would annihilate all consideration of the CHURCH ; and, much as we love the Jew, and would labour for the restoration of God's holy and peculiar people, we cannot agree, that while the prophecies of the *Old Testament* mainly belong to them, that they, at the same time, have an *exclusive claim* to those contained in the *New* ; for if so, how are the Jews and Gentiles to flow in together and become one in Christ ? Indeed, the introduction of the Apocalypse with the seven churches of Asia, seems so decidedly to mark the character of the whole book, that one is led to wonder how a different view should be entertained of it. The mind of our author is chafed exceedingly, that Mr. Frere, in his general structure of the Apocalypse, "has not condescended to name the JEW, whereas he has spoken of the CHURCH no less than *fifty-four times* : " and he is equally displeased with another commentator, who "has boldly declared that the Revelation of St. John has nothing to do with the Jew, but that it relates to Christian Israel ; " and "that he has chosen to decorate the Protestant British nation with the names, and titles, and privileges of the twelve tribes of Israel." We doubt not but that the individuals alluded to, feel interested in the well being of the tribes of Israel ; yet they cannot but remember, that Israel has committed "a great sin" in killing the Prince of Life, and that "their posterity approve their doings ; " that Israel, as a people, still reject Christ, and continue in unbelief ; that if "their names, and titles, and privileges be assumed," it is because God hath allowed it. See 1 Pet. ii. 9. It is not the *person of the Jew*, but his *exeeration* of our Lord and Saviour, that is the object of abhorrence ; it is not *his misfortune* that excites disgust, but *his unbelief*.

Consonant with our author's general principle of the Apocalypse, he aims to establish a homogeneity between the symbols used by Daniel and St. John, and condemns those authors who sometimes interpret symbols very differently. He ingeniously illustrates his meaning in a va-

riety of ways, upon which the space allotted to this paper will not allow us to expatiate.

Having examined and censured Mr. Frere's general structure of the Apocalypse, and maintained, that according to the eighth chapter of Daniel, *Mohammedism* instead of a Spirit of Infidelity was to be engrafted on Popery, and that the little horn spoken of by that prophet is no other than the *Mohammedan* power, he proceeds to an examination of the Apocalypse. In this we shall follow him very briefly, seeing that this article has already exceeded the usual limits.

As the visions of St. John had reference to the Universal Church, it is suggested that the Church, must have a local habitation, or resting place, and that *that* territory is the prophetic church.

While Bishop Newton supposes the seven churches to be descriptive of the seven Asiatic Churches in the Apostolic times, and most other Commentators view them as prophetic of the several states of the Christian Church, from the commencement thereof to the Millennium, our author remarks, that "the vision is a mystery; and that he has already shown that the prophecy cannot apply to the individual churches of Asia, named by the apostles;" and he adds, "There are clear indications, or internal evidence, which makes those churches symbolical of the seven states of the last day, as described, though under different symbols, by Isa. xi. 6, 7." "These churches, for reasons before assigned," he says, "are typical of the churches of the *four empires*, and of *Assyria*, *Israel*, and *Egypt*, Israel being a blessing in the midst of the land." He labours to maintain his position by a reference to the Mohammedan power, *Smyrna* symbolizing PERSIA, the church of *pergamos* denoting MACEDONIA, *Thyatira* ROME, *Sardis* as being an ancient portion of the ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, *Philadelphia* as denoting ISRAEL, "it now remaining like a column in the midst of ruins," and *Laodicea* as relating to COPTIC, and EGYPTIAN CHURCHES. No appropriation is made of the *first* church and we fear that the elucidation of our author, in reference to the others, will be considered somewhat far fetched, and more fanciful than solid.

While the first three chapters of the Apocalypse are occupied with the seven churches, the fourth and fifth, he

says, speak of the judgments that are to come upon the earth. He then explains the seals, in ch. vi. The *first seal* as referring to the BABYLONISH MONARCHY; the *second* to the MEDOPERSIAN POWER; the *third* to the MACEDONIAN EMPIRE; the *fourth* to the Roman EMPIRE; the *fifth* to the SLAUGHTER OF DEATH AND HELL,, POPE-RY AND MOHAMMEDISM; the *sixth* to the JUDGMENT of the *wrath of the LAMB*; the *seventh* to the DAY OF GLORY consequent on a fall of the Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet.

Having thus disposed of the seals, our author proceeds next to explain the trumpets. Here he returns a little into the beaten track of explication: he understands the *first trumpet* to denote the *invasion* of the GOTHIC NATIONS during the fourth and fifth centuries; the *second* the FALL OF ROME under Augustulus; the *third and fifth* to have homogeneous symbols; the *fourth*, the SECESSION of the *third part of* ROMAN EMPIRE; the *sixth*, the SECOND, OR TURKISH WOE; the *seventh*, a woe trumpet, synchronical with the seventh seal, and with the great judgment, when the kingdom shall become the Lord's.

Our author makes the two witnesses in Rev. xi. to mean the Jewish and Greek Churches; and while he objects to their being applied to the Waldensian and Albigensian Churches, or to the Old and New Testament, with singular inconsistency he suggests a larger latitude of interpretation by referring them to *Joseph and Judah*. "In this sense therefore," his words are, "may the witnesses who bear testimony for God, and are trampled down by the Mohammedan oppressor, be considered as Joseph and Judah, according to Ezek. xxxix., and may thus be laid, in reference to the prophecy of Zechariah, to be the two anointed ones, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth."

The woman, in chap. xii., he maintains to be the Papal Church, and illustrates the following chapters by adverting to events which have transpired, and are transpiring, in modern times. The remarks on the remaining chapters are brief, and the interpretation put upon the two last, of a nature to suit the general view which is taken all through, of this deeply mysterious book, as it identifies

the final universal kingdom of the saints, with the kingdom of the JEWISH NATION.

Our observations have been sufficiently extensive to afford our readers a general idea of the work before us. It proves the individual who has penned it to be deeply conversant with his subject, and notwithstanding the exceptions we have taken, we would recommend the work as well calculated to repay the labour of an attentive perusal. How our author's assertions and statements are supported by the evidences he adduces, we must leave our readers to judge; at the same time we are constrained to say, that he has rendered service to the cause by directing the minds of his contemporaries, to a question which has hitherto engaged but a small portion of the attention of our modern English divines. By the "Scripture lines of Times," contained in an appendix, in which our author makes the great prophetic periods of 1260, and the 2300 years to terminate in 1844, we are allowed to conclude, that many now living may survive to prove the truth, or the error of his calculation; but however it may terminate, there can be no doubt, that if the subject be studied with a spirit of Christian simplicity, and a desire to benefit thereby, it cannot but prove both pleasing and profitable.

IV. Illustration of Dan. xi. 20. From *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, for August, 1827.

In looking over, some little time ago, a volume of the *Universal History*, containing an account of the reign of the Seleucidæ in Syria, my attention was particularly directed to Daniel xi. 20. This chapter contains so accurate a sketch of the history of the most eminent princes of the Grecian dynasties, in Syria and Egypt, as led one of the most subtle and determined opposers of the Jewish and Christian revelations, Porphyry, to the following expedient of evading the force of their testimony to revealed truth: He assigned to the whole prophecy a date posterior to the events which it describes: a desperate expedient certainly, because such an assertion, failing of proof, mightily confirms the cause against which it is directed.

The verse in question is this : "Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom : but within a few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle." The Prince referred to here, is Seleucus Philopater, "Standing up in the estate" of his father, Antiochus the Great ; who, after going on long in a victorious career, at last "stumbled and fell, and was not found." His son is mentioned by a peculiar epithet, which has no relation to any recorded circumstance in the prophetic narrative. He is styled, "a raiser of taxes in the glory of his kingdom ;" and cause enough, indeed, had he to act in that capacity, since his father's treaty with the victorious Romans bound him to pay to that grasping people, one thousand talents of the purest silver annually for twelve years. The fulfilment of this stipulation devolved upon Seleucus Philopater ; and thus the occupant of one of the mightiest and most splendid thrones of antiquity became a taxgatherer for the benefit of the Roman people.

It has been well observed, that there is a studied obscurity and ambiguity in the pretended prophecies of Pagan oracles. In the prophecies of Scripture, on the contrary, there is a prediction of facts so clearly defined as not to be capable of equivocal construction ; so marked in their character, as not to find resemblances in the common series of events ; and such also as human sagacity would have pronounced highly improbable.

But, in a survey of the distinguishing characteristics of Scripture prophecy, and the proofs it exhibits of a divine origin, we may go farther still than this. The predictions of the Bible are frequently so expressed, as to make it apparent, that the Being by whose inspiration they were given, was intimately acquainted with the whole series of important facts, which stand in historic connexion with the matter of the prediction itself. Thus in the case now discussed : in the room of a deceased Prince is introduced to our view, his successor, who is described as a "raiser of taxes." The reign of this Prince is in no other respects remarkable than for financial expedients and exertions. When the necessity for these, occasioned by the Roman treaty, was gone by, then he died ; for the last of the twelve years specified in that treaty, was in exact conformity with this brief prophetic summary, the last of his life and reign.

Did not he who thus predicts that Seleucus Philopater should be a raiser of taxes, and in so few words epitomizes so admirably all that was remarkable in his inactive and inglorious reign, know also the circumstances which led to the course here described? Is not the whole prophecy, indeed, so constructed as to make it evident that these were as fully before the *inspiring mind* as were those actually recorded? With what irresistible evidence of their proceeding from a super-human wisdom and knowledge do those predictions of future events commend themselves to us; the very terms of which infer so perfect a knowledge of other events, splendid in their character and momentous in their results; of which, however, there existed no necessity that the details should be given in the sacred pages!

I am not conscious of having any where met with a similar view of the *superabundant riches*, so to speak, of prophetic inspiration: doubtless, however, this branch of the subject cannot have escaped the notice of some one or other of those admirable writers who have treated so convincingly this important part of the great argument in favour of revealed religion. A more narrow research into the construction of many other prophecies will, in like manner, exhibit their connexion with unrecorded particulars, and cause those who engage in such researches, with feelings of solemn admiration to exclaim, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! Known unto God are all his works, from the beginning of the world."

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VI. Concerning the Israelites spoiling the Egyptians. [From King's *Morsels of Criticism*.]

It may now be allowable, to endeavour to do justice, still further, to Sacred Writ;—by vindicating from reproach, the unjustly stigmatised conduct of the Israelites, on their departure from the land of Egypt, in spoiling the Egyptians:—in spoiling them by the command of Moses, (as it has been malevolently, and with a sneer represented;)—and by the command of Almighty God Himself;—(as it has blasphemously been represented.)

But, however blameable the Israelites undoubtedly were,

both before and after this event, in other parts of their conduct;—yet in this, I will venture to affirm, they were blameless.

Let the whole fact, according to the exact narration, be fairly and calmly considered;—and it will appear, here also, (as in the case of Jacob,) that as to the event of the spoiling the Egyptians, it was even to Moses at first declared as a mere prophecy, delivered on Mount Sinai;*—and without his being himself at all able to know, or even to imagine, how it was to come to pass.

And as to the Israelites themselves;—it does not at all appear, (from what is said of the directions given to them to borrow,)[†] that it was ever told them, by Moses, that they should spoil the Egyptians:—or that they were at all aware, or had any ideas of such a consequence; or any apprehension that they should by any means do such a thing, till the very event had irrevocably, and contrary to any foresight of theirs, taken place.

It does not at all appear, that they marched out of Egypt, with any other intention, than that of going three days journey into the wilderness and then returning;—or at least, with any other intention than that of making some short abode there, to perform their religious rites, and of then returning.

And therefore, when, after a long denial of this request to go and sacrifice unto the Lord their God, they were at last thrust out;—yet even then, this was their utmost plan. And in fair construction of the whole history, we cannot but conceive, that when they borrowed the jewels, to enable them, in a more splendid manner, to perform their religious celebrations, they honestly and fully intended, and expected to return them; and actually would have done so, if Pharaoh had not pursued them; and by the whole event made them so hateful to the Egyptians, that it was not in their opportunity, or, by any means then existing, in their power, to have any further communication with the land of Egypt; or with any of the persons from whom they had borrowed these spoils; and to whom they certainly intended originally to have delivered them again.

* Exodus, chap. iii. ver. 21, 22.

† Exodus, chap. xi. ver. 2, 3. Chap. xii. ver. 35, 36

The multitude that went out, being a mixed multitude, even with a great number of Egyptians in their company,* plainly shows that they thought of returning :—and it was Pharaoh's hardness of heart, in pursuing them, contrary to any previous imagination of the Egyptians themselves, that alone changed the Israelites' course ;—frustrated all their honest purpose ;—and accomplished the Divine Prophecy.

Righteous art Thou, O Lord, in all Thy Ways : and Holy in all Thy Works.†

But further ;—the ferocious attempt of the Egyptians to destroy the Israelites, after they had consented that they should go in peace ;—and contrary to all their solemn engagements to them ; or at least to drag them into the most bitter bondage ;—was surely a more than sufficient cause for avowed hostility, and reprisal, in any age, or country upon the face of the earth :—and such, that the Israelites thenceforth detaining the spoil, could no more stand in need of any apology, or vindication ; than the confiscation of the property of Traitors, or than the modern practice of making reprisals at sea.

If the Israelites, after this, had been in a situation, where they could have returned with armed force, to invade the land of Egypt ; and to carry away the whole spoil thereof ; by what law of nations would they have been condemned ?

But in the Wilderness, where the Israelites were sojourning, the same sea which they had so miraculously passed over, was an utter bar to all further intercourse with Egypt, for any purpose, or on any account whatever.—And, even suppose a disposition of restitution to have remained ;—the bar placed by their miraculous passage, which they never could have had originally any expectation of accomplishing ; would effectually put it out of their power to carry such disposition into effect :—whilst indeed, at the same time, the greater part of the very Egyptians most interested, had in all likelihood perished, together with Pharaoh himself.

I must add, whilst I am thus humbly endeavouring, with great simplicity, and integrity, to vindicate the cause of the righteous against blasphemers ;—and, if it might be, to lead

Exodus, chap. xii. ver. 38.

* Psalm cxlv. ver. 17. Psalm exix. ver. 137. Jeremiah, chap. xii. ver. 1

blasphemers to repent of the blasphemy ;—as blasphemy may be forgiven,* except the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit :—I must add, that perhaps some notice should be taken of our Blessed Lord's borrowing the Colt, whereon HE so emblematically, and prophetically sat, when He entered Jerusalem.—Our proud modern blasphemers, Bolingbroke, and Voltaire, have both by themselves, and by their minor imitators, blasphemed our Lord ;—representing His sending His Disciples to take, or borrow the Colt, as a gross fraud.—But those who are serious, will understand both the prophecy, and the accomplishment, to have been perfectly consistent with all righteousness.

Our Lord, prophesying,—said,

Matthew, chap. xxi. and Mark, chap. xi.

Ver. 2. ——— *Go your way into the village over against you ; and as soon as ye be entered into it, ye shall find a colt tied, whereon never man sat ; loose him, and bring him.*

3. *And if any man say ought unto you, (or as St. Mark* has the words, say unto you, Why do ye this?) say ye, that The Lord hath need of him ; and straight-way he will send him hither.*

Here was the Prophecy ;—the accomplishment follows in these words,

Mark, chap. xi.

Ver. 4. *And they went their way, and found the colt tied, by the door without, in a place where two ways met :—and they loose him.*

5. *And certain of them that stood there, said unto them, What do ye loosing the colt ?*

6. *And they said unto them even as Jesus had commanded :—and they let him go.*

8. *And they brought the colt to Jesus.*

And here evidently was an accomplishment of the Prophecy, with the fullest consent of those that stood by ;—who

* Matthew, chap. xii. ver. 31. Mark, chap. iii. ver. 23, 29.

† St. Luke has the words, *Why do ye loose him?* chap. xix. ver. 31.

must have been, either the owners, or connected with the owners of the colt.—Here, therefore, was a full consent, as could well be given to any loan:—and at the same time, there cannot be a doubt but that the colt was actually returned carefully, by the disciples, who so constantly passed by the same spot every day, during their attendance at Jerusalem.

Where then was the robbery, or the fraud? Let those disciples of Error who have brought the shameful charge, answer for the real injury they have done to the world;—and for their own real fraud,—whereby they have indeed endeavoured to rob mankind of all their best reliance on Him, who alone is able to save;—and of all their best hopes, and advantages.



VII. Origin, Principles, and Present Condition of the Protestant Dissenters.
From *The Baptist Magazine* for August, 1827.

It may be said, without fear of its being successfully contradicted, that “the antiquity” of Protestant Dissenters “is of ancient days.” It is an undeniable fact, supported by the most abundant evidence, that the sentiments held by the primitive believers, and all Christians for the first three centuries, with regard to the constitution of the churches, were similar to those which have always been maintained by them.

A few extracts from Lord King’s “Constitution of the Primitive Churches,” will be sufficient to prove this assertion. Cyprian says of the office of “*bishop*,” or pastor, &c. “in a church might be many presbyters, but only one supreme.” Before the time of Constantine, we find from Ignatius, Cyprian, and other bishops, that not the word “*diocese*,” but *parish* (houses near to each other) is used of the bishop’s charge; as, the bishop of the “parish of Alexandria,” of the “parish of Ephesus,” &c. A bishop had then but one altar, one communion table; and offenders appeared before the *whole* church. The African Synod (A. D. 258,) held, that the sacerdotal ordinations ought not to be made but with the knowledge of the people who were present, that the people being present, either the enemies of the wicked may be defeated, or the merits of the good de-

clared, and the ordination be just and lawful which shall have been examined by the suffrage and judgment of all. A. D. 252, Cornelius, bishop of Rome, read letters from foreign churches "to his most holy and numerous people." Eusebius calls the meeting-house, "the house of the church;" i. e. the church-house. A penitent bewailing his fault before the church at Rome, "the church was touched with compassion towards him." When Andreus, bishop of Rome, died, "all the brethren met together in the church, to choose a successor." Eusebius further says, "during the first three centuries there were no dioceses larger than a parish, except A. D. 260, at Alexandria, when numbers who lived at a distance erected houses near their own houses, as daughter churches, with a minister appointed by the bishop of Alexandria, at which last place they occasionally attended." He speaks also of a bishop being chosen, whom the neighbouring bishops ordained.

From the authority of Origen, we learn that "*deacons*" distributed to the poor the church's money, and assisted at the Lord's table.

Cyprian says that the African Synod thus speaks of the "*independency*" of each distinct church or congregation:—"It is decreed by us all, and it is equal and just, that every one's cause shall be heard where the crime was committed; and that a particular portion of Christ's flock shall be assigned to each pastor, which he is to govern, being to give an account of his conduct to the Lord."

In the public worship, the lector, clerk, or reader, read the Scriptures, without the people reading with him. They had no musical instruments. After reading, singing, preaching, and praying, they administered the *Lord's supper*. "This food," says Justin Martyr, "we call the Eucharist, and no one may partake of it but he who believeth those things to be true which we teach, and who has received the remission of sins and the baptism of regeneration, and liveth as Christ commandeth." And in regard to "*Baptism*," Barnabas, in his Catholic Epistle, says, "We go down into the water full of sin and filth; and we ascend, bringing forth fruit in the heart."

Other testimonies might be produced, but these are sufficient to prove that the Christian churches, before the time of Constantine, and when the spirit of the world was not

suffered to prevail among professing Christians, were founded and governed in their discipline and worship, upon the same principles as the English Dissenting Baptist churches.

At that early period very large churches existed in Britain, which suffered most distressing persecutions from the Roman emperors. Such simple-hearted Christians as we have described in foreign parts were the churches in this country, until the close of the sixth century, when they fell victims to the sectarian zeal, and antichristian policy and cruelty of Austin, the booted apostle, at Bangor, near Chester.

The long dark night of popery which was thus introduced into Britain, continued till the Reformation, which was commenced by Wickliffe in the 14th, and was finished in the 16th century.

Besides the Reformers in church and state at this latter period, of whom Lord Thomas Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer were the chief persons,* there were those who were reformers as regarded the corrupt principles of popery in regard to religion simply, irrespective of the religion of the church as by law established. These were that illustrious band of men, consisting of *Tyndal, Frith, Barnes, Garrett, Hierome*, and others. The first of these worthies having translated the Scriptures into English, the rest assisted in the distribution of his New Testament, and made *it* the only standard of their principles, and the only rule of their conduct. By these, and their numerous disciples, the principles of *free* inquiry were widely propagated; they taught that Christ was the only supreme head of the church on earth, and that his will was to be learned from the Scriptures alone.

That any writer should have designated *these* martyrs the "Fathers of the English church," is a gross misnomer: they were in no other sense her fathers but as she is *Pro-*

* The chief thing accomplished by these great and good men, was their getting the Scriptures translated by *Coverdale*; and afterwards, prevailing on the king, Henry VIII, to sanction *Tyndal's* translation. In the year 1540, one edition of what was called "the Bible of the larger volume," was printed, as Tyndal had left it, *without the Apocryphal books*, which had been translated after *Tyndal's* death by *John Rogers*, and appended to Tyndal's, called *Matthews's Bible*. A copy of this very curious edition, (which was "ordered to be read in churches") is in *Sion College Library*.

testant; certainly not as she is *Episcopal*. They were Dissenters from the *Popish* established church, and the churches they formed before the *protestant* establishment were necessarily congregational, or at most presbyterian. That there was a congregation at Oxford in 1526, and one in Bowlane, Cheapside, in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, may be seen in Fox's Martyrology. These Christians, who were known by the name of "the congregations," could not at any period of what is called the Reformation in the Church of England, have united themselves with it, without a violation of the principles by which they were distinguished.

It is to those Christians, then, who before the Reformation suffered such violent persecutions, because of their having dissented from the popish church-establishment in England, that the genuine Protestant Dissenters trace their origin: from these anti-popish Christians they are the lineal descendants. They were called by way of reproach, before the time of Tyndal, *Lollards*; and after his time, *Gospellers*, and *Anabaptists*! They were the nucleus around which gradually gathered all persons who were dissatisfied either with the constitution, or discipline, or doctrines of the established church, and to which they adhered. It follows, therefore, that Protestant Dissenters are unjustly called *Separatists*! How could they separate from a church of which they were never members? It is improper, then, to reproach them, as though they were exclusively sectarians. The church of England is herself sectarian, as well as they, she having separated from the church of Rome.

It was not till the commencement of the 17th century, that the class of English Christians which have been described formed themselves into the distinct and separate denominations of Independents and Baptists. Great numbers of churches of both these denominations existed at the time when Presbyterianism was the established religion.

At the Restoration in 1660, many ministers and others united themselves to the dissenters, who had been compelled to leave the national and parish churches. The Act of Uniformity in 1662, drove upwards of 2000 more ministers to unite with them: these were most excellent and conscientious men, but they were not, properly speaking, Dissenters; they had no objection to a national establishment.

nor to a prescribed liturgy, nor to parish congregations, nor to the tithes as the means of their support.

Nor are the great body of Methodists, whether Calvinistic or Arminian, Dissenters. Most of them, indeed, especially the latter, affect to be members of the established church. Genuine Protestant Dissenters adopt for their motto, *NO IMPOSITION*. They dare not submit to any thing as binding upon their consciences, which is not plainly stated, or fairly to be deduced from the New Testament; and for these opinions their forefathers suffered persecution in every dreadful form, from each national endowed sect, whether popish, episcopalian, or presbyterian; until the glorious Revolution in 1688, when the liberties of Protestant Dissenters were secured by law. And for the unrestricted exercise of their religious liberty, they are chiefly indebted to the protection afforded them by the princes of the royal house of Brunswick. Each of the four monarchs of that illustrious line has declared, on his accession to the throne, "*I WILL PRESERVE THE TOLERATION ACT INVIOLEBLE:*" nor has either of these patriotic kings acted inconsistently with that solemn pledge.

There were several attempts made a few years since to deprive Protestant Dissenters of their privileges, by some country magistrates putting new constructions on the act of toleration. In 1811, a bill was brought into the House of Lords by Lord Sidmouth, the provisions of which were to prevent ministers from preaching any where but in the congregations to which they respectively belonged, and to require from young ministers, before they were brought under the protection of law, that they should obtain a license from a justice of the peace, at the quarter sessions for the county. These regulations, whether so intended or not, would have most grievously harassed them, and most effectually prevented their increase. The vast number of petitions presented to the Peers against this detested and persecuting measure proved successful. His Majesty's prime minister, Lord Liverpool, refused to sanction it, and even the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sutton, opposed the bill, and spoke in the most respectful manner of the Dissenters.

Soon after the total failure of this measure, the Judges, to whom the Dissenters had appealed, gave their decision in favour of the construction of the magistrates. This high

legal decision made it necessary that they should appeal to the Legislature, for some enactment which should explain and amend the act of toleration, which had been found sufficient for their protection for more than a century. His Majesty's ministers undertook to prepare a bill for those purposes, which having passed into a law, the Dissenters were perfectly satisfied. This new toleration act protected them from the caprice of some magistrates, and the malice of others, and also repealed those persecuting statutes, the Corporation and Five-mile acts, and altered the Conventicle act in their favour. An unjust penal statute, the Test Act, still remains, which deprives them of their equal rights in the state, and is also a most awful profanation of the divine ordinance of the Lord's supper. It is not probable that this act, however unjust, will be repealed whilst there is an established sect, the principle of which must be necessarily exclusive, the members securing all the good things to themselves. At present there is no apparent hostility against Dissenters, either from the government or the bench of bishops. They most scrupulously "refrain from these men, and let them alone;" and excepting occasionally a volley of abuse from some high churchman, when on his road to Canterbury, they seem to have come to an agreement to "say nothing at all about them."

The principles on which the necessity of dissenting from the establishment is founded, are, I am of opinion, more imperfectly understood than at any former period of the dissenting history: certainly the high tone of rigid separation is greatly lowered. It is now no uncommon thing for educated dissenting youths to be allured into the precincts of an university, and from thence into the pulpit of the church of England. In some of those instances, it is feared, they have received encouragement and support from their parents. In one case, where the son of a dissenting minister has become a *dignitary* of the national hierarchy, a dissenting periodical has spoken of the circumstance, if not with approbation yet certainly not with reprobation. Many reasons could be adduced, were it necessary, to account for this *latitudinarian* state of feeling. But, however some dissenters may have changed their sentiments, the *principles* on which dissent is founded remain unaltered and unalterable; being all resolvable into this one divine direction

—"Call no man master on earth : one is your master, even Christ."

The spirit which prevails among Protestant Dissenters is less acrimonious than at some former periods. Their controversies are conducted (with some few exceptions) with more courteousness and respect : the time may perhaps arrive, if it has not already arrived, when it will be said,

"And e'en the dipt and sprinkled live in peace."

Happy will it be for the cause of dissent when this disposition shall universally prevail. Surely orthodox evangelical dissenters should cautiously avoid every thing which would divide their energies or check their zeal in promoting their common Christianity ; and if a difference of sentiment on some practical points, as in reference to foreign missions, make it necessary they should fight against the enemy in different detachments, they may yet, as being under the same Commander, make one united effort in spreading the victory, and celebrating the triumphs of the Prince of Peace.

When the secession from the Establishment, in 1662, took place, it was confidently predicted that the dissenting interest would not survive the lives of those ministers. More than 160 years have passed since, and the Dissenters are much more numerous than ever. And judging from the large annual sums contributed in support of their ministers and their numerous institutions (in addition to their paying, in common with others, to support the established church,) it is fair to conclude, notwithstanding there are but few very rich persons among them, yet that their aggregate wealth is not diminished. Considering, too, the large number of zealous and evangelical ministers constantly employed in propagating and diffusing the liberal sentiments of dissent, and the numerous accessions which have been, and doubtless will be made, from the tens of thousands of their Sunday-school scholars, I feel a confident persuasion that the cause of dissent is built upon an immoveable rock. Knowing, too, how beneficial the influence of these liberal sentiments has been upon our national industry and commerce, so that even *Hume* has been compelled to acknowledge that they were the germ from whence the English tree of liberty has grown ; and believing they have subserved the cause of godliness and serious piety most essentially in the nation, I adopt.

with most impassioned ardour, the devout wish of Father Paul for his country, and say of the dissenting interest in Britain, *Esto perpetua*.

IOTA.

VIII. Claims of the Church of Rome examined: By the Rev. James Towoley, D. D. From *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, for July, 1827.

The claims of the Church of Rome to Apostolicity in doctrine must, of necessity, be examined by an appeal to the writings of the Apostles themselves; but as it would require a lengthened discussion to enter into every opinion maintained by that Church, and try it by the test of the Inspired Scriptures, I shall only advert to a few of the more leading doctrines of Romanism, and show either their contrariety to the word of God, or their destitution of support from it. The subjects to which I shall limit the present inquiry, will be those of Restrictions in reading the Holy Scriptures,—Tradition,—Invocation of Saints,—Service in an unknown tongue,—Transubstantiation,—The Celibacy of the Clergy,—and the Sacrifice of the Mass.

1. Restrictions in reading the Holy Scriptures.—The Council of Trent, in 1546, decreed, “That no one, confiding in his own judgment, shall dare to bend the Scriptures to his own sense of them, contrary to that which is given, or has been given, by the holy mother church, whose right it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; or contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers, though such interpretations should never be published. Those who oppose shall be denounced by the ordinaries, and subjected to the punishment of the law.”* And in the “Rules” of the Index of Prohibited Books, which received the Papal sanction by a bull, dated March 24th, 1564, and are constantly prefixed to the Indexes themselves, (one of which, printed at Rome 1787, now lies before me,) the fourth rule is thus expressed; “Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience, that if the Holy

* Labbei S. S. Concilia. T. xiv. pp. 746—748.

Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it ; it is on this point referred, to the judgment of the Bishops, or inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the Priest or Confessor, permit the reading of the Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, to those persons whose faith and piety, they apprehend, will be augmented, and not injured by it: and this permission they must have in writing. But if any one shall have the presumption to read or possess it without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary.”* In 1757, the following addition was made to this Rule, by the “Congregation of the Index,” with the approbation of Pope Clement VIII :—“Any versions of the Bible in the vulgar tongue are permitted, that are approved by the Holy See, or published with Notes taken from The Fathers of the Church, or from learned and Catholic writers.”†

Such are the restrictive principles of the Romish Church, as emanating from the highest of her authorities. That they are opposed to the spirit and decisions of the inspired records, is proved at once, by recurring to the exhortations and expressions of our Lord and his apostles. “Search the Scriptures,” said the Redeemer to his disciples. (John v. 39.) St Paul requires that his “Epistle be read unto all the holy brethren ;” (1 Thess. v. 27 ;) and St. Luke pronounces the Beræans to be more noble than those of Thessalonica, because they “searched the Scriptures daily.” (Acts xvii. 11.) Under the Mosaic dispensation, the people were required to read the law, and to be conversant in it. (Deut. vi. 6.) St Paul asserts that “Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope ; (Rom. xv. 4 ;) and our Saviour declared that the people “erred” from “not knowing the Scriptures.” (Matt. xxii. 29.) St. Paul therefore deemed Ti-

* Labbei S. S. Concilia T. xiv. pp. 952—956. Index Lib. Prohib. Sanctissimi Pii VI. “jussu editus.” Romæ, 1787.—Regula Indicis Reg. 4. p. xii.

† Index Lib. Prohib. *ut supra*. See also Townley’s Essays on Eccles. Hist. p. 150.

mothy peculiarly privileged, that "from a child he had known the Holy Scriptures, which were able to make him wise unto salvation." (2 Tim. iii 15.) It is unnecessary to multiply proofs of what is evidently the general tendency of Scripture; but rather to listen to St Chrysostom, the eloquent patriarch of Constantinople, who exhorts his hearers, "though secular men, to provide themselves with Bibles, the medicines of their souls, to be their perpetual instructors." (Comment. in Colos. iii. 16)*

2. Tradition.—The Council of Trent, in its fourth session, decreed, that "if any one, knowing the unwritten traditions of the Fathers, industriously contemned them, he should be anathema or accursed."† Very different is the language of Scripture, which presents Christ to us as addressing the Scribes and Pharisees, those determined advocates of unwritten traditions, and solemnly declaring, "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrine the commandments of men:" (Matt. xv. 9 :) And again, (Mark vii. 8,) "Laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men." We may therefore say with St. Jerome, "The Sword of God" (that is, his Word) "doth smite those other things which they find and hold of their own accord, as by apostolical tradition, without the authority and testimony of Scripture." (In cap. i. Aggæi.)‡

3. Invocation of Saints.—By the Council of Trent, "all Bishops, and others that have the charge and care of teaching," are commanded "diligently to instruct the people, concerning the intercession and invocation of Saints; teaching them, that the Saints, reigning together with Christ, offer up their prayers to God for men: that it is good and profitable humbly to invoke them, and to have recourse to their prayers, helps, and assistance, for the imploring of benefits from God by his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our alone Saviour and Redeemer."§

A plain passage or two in Scripture will be sufficient to show that this doctrine is contrary to the Word of God.

* See Wesley's Works, Vol. xv. p. 127.

† Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, p. 12.

‡ See an able refutation of the Romish doctrines by the venerable John Wesley: Works, vol xv. p. 119. Lond. 1812. 8vo; and also Fletcher's Lectures: Lecture ii. p. 46.

§ Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent; Sess. 25, p. 14.

"There is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all:" (1 Tim. ii. 5, 6 :) "How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?" (Rom. x. 14.) But "cursed is he that trusteth in man." (Jer. xvii. 5.) "When I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which showed me these things; then said he unto me, See thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book; worship God." (Rev. xxii. 8, 9.) "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he has not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind." (Colos. ii. 18.)

4. Service in an unknown tongue.—The 9th canon of the 22d session of the Council of Trent denounces, "If any man shall say, that the mass ought only to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, let him be accursed." This decree is so directly opposed to the reasoning of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xvi., that it requires no other refutation.

5. Transubstantiation.—With regard to this strange doctrine, the Council of Trent, in its twelfth session in 1551, decreed, "If any one shall deny, That the Body and Blood, together with the Soul and Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore the whole Christ, are really, truly, and substantially contained in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist; but shall affirm that he is there only as in a sign, or figure, or by his influence; let him be anathema." Other similar canons were also framed at the same time, among which is one to this effect: "If any one shall deny that the whole Christ is contained in each element or species in the adorable sacrament of the Eucharist; or shall deny that if separated into parts, the whole Christ is contained in separate parts of each element or species: let him be anathema or accursed." But how repugnant is such a doctrine to sense, and reason, and Scripture! So contrary is it to the clear evidence of our senses, that to allow it, is to destroy the very arguments by which Christianity itself is defended. St. Luke appealed for the truth of the Gospel which he wrote, to the testimony of those who had been "eye-witnesses" of what they had "delivered to him;" (Luke i. 1, 2;) and St. John says, "That which we have seen

with our eyes, and have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life, declare we unto you." (1 John i. 1.) St. Paul appeals to similar evidence in proof of Christ's resurrection. (1 Cor. xv. 5, 6.) The unbelief of Thomas yielded to the conviction of his senses; (John xx. 25;) and our Lord deemed the evidence of sense valid and convincing, when the apostles thought he had been a spirit: "Handle me and see," said Jesus; "for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." (Luke xxiv. 39.) If, therefore, we grant Transubstantiation, we take away the certainty of sense, and there no longer remains any possibility of judging of the truth of facts. Transubstantiation is equally opposed to reason as to sense: for "if every particle of the host is as much the whole body of Christ, as the whole host is before it be divided, then a whole may be divided into wholes: for divide it and subdivide it, it is still whole. A whole it is before the division, whole it is in the division, and whole it is after it." To such absurdities does this doctrine reduce its advocates!*

But this doctrine is not only opposed to sense and reason, it is likewise at variance with the idiom and expressions of the Scriptures themselves. Those passages on which the Romanists chiefly found their dogma of Transubstantiation, is that which records the institution of the Eucharist, and in which we are informed, that "Jesus took bread, and blessed it and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body." (Matt. xxvi. 26, &c.) These words they take in the most literal sense, contrary to the idiom of the inspired writings in similar instances; for even in the words immediately following those on which so much dependance is placed by the advocates of this opinion, it is said, he took "likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This *cup* is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you." (Luke xxii. 20.) But will the most resolute defender of Transubstantiation affirm that the *cup* actually and really became the New Testament, or does so at present under the words of consecration? Must they not be obliged to confess that the expression was figurative? With what reason then do they aver that the words which serve their purpose are to be taken literally, but that those which do not

* Wesley's Works: Vol. xv. p. 163.

are to be taken figuratively? Many other instances may also be adduced in which the word "*is*" must necessarily be used for *signify*, or *denote*, or *mean*, as Gen. xli. 26: "The seven good kine *are* seven years:" "The seven stars *are* the seven churches:" (Rev. i. 20 :) "The seven heads *are* seven mountains:" (xviii. 9 :) and in many other places, in which the same mode of expression is employed.* We need not therefore wonder, that Cardinal Cajetan, and other learned men of the Romish Church, have acknowledged the insufficiency of this text to prove so monstrous a doctrine as Transubstantiation, without the aid of Tradition.†

This Romish doctrine is, however, not only founded on an interpretation of a passage of Scripture inconsistent with the idiom of the languages in which the Sacred Oracles were written, but also at variance with other declarations and expressions of Holy Writ. "As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup," says St. Paul, "ye do *show the Lord's death* till he come;" (1 Cor. xi. 26 :) thus intimating, that our Lord's design in the institution of the Eucharist was the solemn commemoration of his death, as an atonement for the sins of mankind; and that this was the true intention of our Redeemer is clear from his own command to his disciples: "Do this in remembrance of me;" (Luke xxii. 19 :) and his declaration to them, "This is my blood of the New Testament, (or Covenant,) which is shed for many for the remission of sins." (Matt. xxvi. 28.) We therefore find that the bread which was broken is called "Bread," as well after consecration as before it; (1 Cor. x. 17 :) and consequently remained unchanged: and we are also assured by St. Peter, "that the heaven must receive or retain Jesus Christ, until the time of the restitution of all things." (Acts iii. 21.) Hence the notion of the real presence in the Eucharist appears without any Scriptural evidence or support.

6. The sacrifice of the Mass, is intimately connected with the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The Council of Trent asserts, that in the sacrifice of the Mass,‡ "the very

* See Clarke's Discourse on the Eucharist, p. 51 8vo. Poole's (Matt.) Dialogue between a Popish Priest and an English Protestant: p. 129. Lond. 1667. 24mo.

† Poole's Dialogue, p. 123; Fletcher's Lectures, p. 142.

‡ The term Mass is used by the Romanists for the prayers and cere-

same Christ is contained and sacrificed without bloodshed, who once offered himself up by a bloody death upon the altar of the Cross ;” and remarks “that such sacrifice is really propitiatory ; and by means thereof, if we, being humble and penitent, come unto God with a true heart, a right faith, with fear and reverence, we shall obtain mercy and find favour in him seasonably helping ; because by the oblation thereof, the appeased God, granting grace and the gift of penitence, remits crimes, nay, even grievous sins ; for it is one and the same host and oblation, the same person now offering himself in the ministry of the Priests, that then offered himself up upon the Cross, the manner only of the offering being different.”*

To this doctrine it may be sufficient to reply, that “the Scripture, when it extols the perfection and infinite value of Christ’s sacrifice, doth infer from it, that there needed not therefore any repetition of it. But if the same Christ is offered in the Mass, as was on the Cross, and that unbloody sacrifice is alike propitiatory as the bloody, there is then a repetition of the same sacrifice, and he is daily offered.” The following are some of the passages of Scripture which support this reasoning, and prove the doctrine utterly unscriptural : (Heb. ix. 26, 27 :) “Such an High Priest became us, who needeth not *daily*, as those High Priests, to *offer up sacrifice*, first for his own sins, and then for the people’s : for this he did *once* when he offered up himself :” (ix. 22—28 :) “Without shedding of blood is no remission :” “Nor yet that he should offer himself often ; for then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world ; but now *once* in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself :” “Christ was *once* offered.” (See also x. 8—14.)

7. The celibacy of the Clergy.—By the Council of Lateran it is ordained, “That those who are married shall not be admitted into holy orders ; that those that are ad-

monies attendant on the consecration of the Eucharist. It most probably obtained this designation from the form of words *Ite missa est*, regularly used at the dismissal of the catechumens, previous to the celebration of the Eucharist.

* Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent : Sess. 22, pp. 97, 98.

† Wesley’s Works, xv. 165

mitted shall not be allowed to marry; and that those who being admitted do marry, shall be separated." And the Council of Trent decreed, "That if any one shall say, the Clergymen in orders, or professed regulars, may marry, and their marriage be valid, notwithstanding any ecclesiastical law or vow, and that the contrary is nothing else but a condemning of matrimony; and that all those who find they have not the gift of chastity, although they have vowed it, may marry; he shall be accursed."

To this doctrine of the Romish church it has been well replied, that "the Apostle on the contrary, says, 'Marriage is honourable in all;' (Heb. xiii. 4;) and accuses those who forbid to marry, of 'teaching the doctrine of devils.' How lawful it was for the Clergy to marry, his directions concerning it show. (1 Tim. iv 1—3.) And how convenient, yea, necessary, in many cases it is, clearly appears from the innumerable mischiefs which have in all ages followed the prohibition of it in the church of Rome; which so many wise and good men, even of her own communion, have lamented."*

We have now glanced at the grounds on which the Romanists build their hopes of demonstrating that the Church of Rome is the only true Church, and shown that the claims to Unity, Sanctity, Catholicity, and Apostolicity, are utterly unsupported and unscriptural; and consequently, that her imperious assumption of exclusive salvation is destitute of proof, and only marks the inquisitorial and uncharitable character of the system itself.

* Wesley's Works, Vol. XV. p. 193. Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, p. 122.

THE
History of Theology
IN
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,

BY DR. AUGUSTUS THOLUCK,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY THE EDITOR. 

CONCLUDED FROM VOL. IV. No. 1.



THE
History of Theology,

&c. &c.

II. HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN FAITH AND
INFIDELITY.

§ I. *Introductory remarks on faith and infidelity.*

WE introduce these remarks with an expression of Goethe, which, if he himself did not fully understand, becomes so much the more important for those, who have learned from personal experience, what faith and infidelity really are. In his "West Oestlicher Divan," page 224, he says, that "the great and deepest theme of the history of the world and of man, is the conflict between faith and unbelief." Those who can fully comprehend these words, will feel their truth. Man finds himself in this world, on an isolated point, he knows not whence he comes, nor whither he goes—he knows nothing but the spot upon which he awoke, and upon which he is soon to close his eyes for ever. Were he not by faith able to rise above himself and this dreary life, he would have nothing to do, but with highminded calmness, to resign all hope of attaining the end, to which his nature prompts him to aspire. As the world and God, time and eternity, annihilation and salvation, are the great conflicting points, upon which human life turns, the ground and centre of the conflict lies in the struggle between faith and unbelief. The contemplation of

this struggle therefore, must either have the tendency to bring us to a more elevated consciousness of the high destiny to which God has called us, or to the expectation of the that bottomless abyss of unconscious existence, which is result of all logical infidelity. Infidelity in its widest sense, is a disposition which leads us to admit nothing as true, which is not the result of our own reasonings or deduction, —faith on the other hand, is that disposition, which, influenced either by an outward or inward necessity, admits as true, what is not merely by logical inference rendered certain. { The great question here presents itself, what is the result to which we are led, when we logically pursue the path of skepticism? that is, when we are determined to form a logical system respecting human and divine things with no other guide than speculation. } There is something in the heart of man, which leads him to believe, whether he wishes it or not. But there is also something in the fallen nature of man, which prompts to skepticism. And as the evil in our nature (until restored by Christ) prevails over the good, the tendency to unbelief is more powerful than the tendency to faith. Yet the disposition to faith, constantly opposes itself to the contrary disposition. Hence it is that very few pursue their skepticism to its legitimate results. and that there are so few thorough systems of infidelity in the world. For the biblical christian, however, it must ever appear safer and better, that the system should be carried out, instead of being checked in its course, and moulded into a form which floats between heaven and earth, and can neither justify itself at the tribunal of Philosophy, nor that of the Bible. Superficial men content themselves with such a system, which satisfies their more common feelings, but which lulls them into a dangerous security. A system which is throughout consequent, and is prepared to win or lose all, is more worthy of respect, and at the same time safer, as it affords more hope of return, since the ne-

*definition
of the fict.
enterprise*

cessity of having something to believe, is too deeply seated in the human heart, to permit us to rest satisfied with the terrible results of consequent skepticism. Schelling, therefore, (see the Preface to the first volume of his philosophical works,) has reason to reproach those with cowardice, who, having raised themselves above external things, and committed themselves to the guidance of speculation, shrink back from the legitimate consequences of such a course. From what has been said, it is evident, that there are various grades of skeptical philosophy, from that which has most thoroughly followed out its principles, to that which is most inconsequent and nearest allied to faith. We can, however, distinguish these systems into two classes, the consequent and inconsequent—the former is Pantheism in its diversified forms, the latter is Deism.

Pantheistical system.

We have proposed the question, what is the result of all logical speculation, when we have resolved to follow no other guide? The speculation which proceeds by deduction, must commence with some first principles or intuitive truths which are supplied by our own consciousness. The point from which it starts is the consciousness of existence. But this is not a consciousness of independent existence, but if an existence depending and grounded upon something else. Hence the speculator in the consciousness of his own existence, is at the same time, conscious of the existence of an original existence (*Urseyn*) upon which his own is founded. First from this consciousness—the consciousness of personal existence including that of the original existence, proceeds the speculation or argument, for to this point all is assumed as intuitively true. As soon as the argumentation is commenced, a dilemma presents itself, which, according as the one or the other side is assumed, decides upon all divine and human things. This dilemma is as follows: first, my

being presents itself as a person, that is, as possessed of self-efficiency; for if it be a person it is self active, having no other ground of its actions than itself; but secondly, I am conscious that my being and actions are dependent and restricted, that the remote ground of my activity, is not in myself, but in the original existence. How can these things be reconciled. If there be an original existence unlimited and independent, which conditions all other existences, there can be no agent out of him which has in itself the last ground of its actions. For if the original existence is the necessary condition, of the actions of other existences, it is the only agent.

Since this original existence is active, and in so far as it is the condition of other existences, it is not a mere lifeless substratum, but is the living active principle in all that is:—and all independent active existence out of the original existence is an impossibility. On the other hand, when I assume as incontrovertible, that my individual personal existence, if I regard every individual as a being, which has in itself the last ground of its actions, is self efficient, then the original existence is not unrestricted, since the individual efficient necessarily limit and restrict the efficiency of the original existence, each after its own way, conditioning its activity. Hence it appears, that the speculator is encountered at the very outset by the riddle of individual personality. If he will neither renounce this personality, nor the illimitableness of God's efficiency, he must either consent to hold both sides of a contradiction, or turn believer, that is, receive something as true which is not the result of speculation or argumentative deduction; but this is inconsistent with the goal which he has placed before himself. The consequent speculator therefore adopts the following course, as he cannot solve the riddle which every man carries in his own bosom—the consciousness of personality, and the illimitable nature of God, he denies hu-

man personality and presents the following view of the subject. Since God cannot be unlimited, if the personality of men be considered real, this personality can only be apparent. The original unlimited existence which pervades the universe, strives through its own activity to become objective to itself, that is to arrive at self-consciousness; the infinite becomes objective to itself, when it reveals itself in the finite, and when this finite revelation is conscious of its unity with the infinite. Hence from the stone to the angel, individuality is merely apparent, being nothing more than the various modifications of the infinite first principle. Human individuals realize to the greatest perfection, the effort of the infinite principle to come to a consciousness of itself. Because men through the faculty of thought, feeling or imagination, clearly conceive themselves as manifestations of the infinite. This is the manner in which the consequent speculation endeavours to destroy all individual personality. With the rejection of the personality of the finite existences, is necessarily connected the rejection of the personality of the infinite.—For as the infinite unlimited God, arrives at self-consciousness only through the creation of the finite individual, so it is clear, that if we in any sense ascribe personality to him, it can be only the apparent personality which belongs to the finite individual,—this is his life.—Other consequences equally shocking flow from these principles. If God be the only and universal agent in all being, then is good and evil equally the act of God, and the objective difference between good and evil falls to the ground. The view presented of this subject is as follows: Since the infinite remains inactive, having no self-manifestation, excepting so far as it is manifested in the finite, it follows necessarily that God is limited in the world, that is, is but imperfectly developed. But this limitation is not in itself evil, lying in the very necessity of the infinite, and in the infinite nothing necessary can be evil. Hence all

evil, which is but imperfect developement, is incipient good, for every limitation in the finite by virtue of its unity with the infinite, is virtually removed. If evil be only limitation, it is only negation, and is necessary to the exciting of life, or effort at developing, since if there were no limitation, there could be no progressive pervading of the limited, and all would remain dead. The individual must acknowledge the evil in itself so far, that it must endeavour to remove the limitation, that is, endeavour to render the pervading of the finite by the infinite perfect, but this limitation (evil) is in itself necessary, since without it there could be no developement of life.

This system with its consequences presents undoubtedly a series of regular logical deductions, but it contradicts so entirely the deepest feelings, nay, the very nature of the soul, that only a few at any period have been able to embrace it in all its results. Yet even among the ancients we find regularly constructed pantheistical systems, partly ideal and partly materialistical. The most imposing is that of Xenophanes, and that of the later Platonists. We find also among the heathen some, who although they admitted the truth of these systems, felt their annihilating effect on human life. There is a remarkable passage in the *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny Lib. II. Cap. 7, where he says—"There, is so much uncertain, in human life, that among all uncertainties, that which is most certain is, that there is nothing certain, and that there is nothing more miserable, than the thing called man. In all his misery his greatest consolation is, that God is not Almighty, since he cannot deprive himself of life, which is the greatest good in this wretched state." This system has also in later times appeared in various forms. When speculation became more thorough and consequent, Pantheism appeared under two shapes, as idealism, and materialism. The latter denying the existence of spirit, refers every thing to matter and its laws. This

system was principally defended by the French academicians, at the close of the last century. The grossest work on this subject is "*L'homme Machine*;" and the boldest defender of the system the infamous La Mettrie, court physician, and afterwards court-fool to Frederick the Great. The principal forms of the ideal pantheism, are Spinozism and the Nature-Philosophy. By Spinoza the system is but imperfectly presented, the Nature-Philosophers are more thorough and definite. The coarsest advocate of these doctrines is Goerres. In his *Mythology of Asia*, he speaks with the greatest boldness of the personality, divinity, and morality of the earth.

The other kind of infidelity of which we spoke, was the inconsequent or deism.

The deist assumes the existence of the moral law in the breast of man, the existence of personal deity, and of course the doctrine of providence, a future state of rewards and punishment, and immortality. This system is found in antiquity although held with a very unstable hand, as by Cicero, who properly was a deist. With more precision and beauty by Pindar, Socrates, and Plutarch, who presented the truth in a manner more analogous to Christian deism. It may be asked in what way the Heathen attained this knowledge? We may say that the necessity of such truths, lies so deep in the human heart, that a thorough examination of the human soul, must have led to their discovery and adoption. But it is very doubtful, whether the fallen nature of man, would ever have arrived at this knowledge, if it had not been aided by tradition and history. It is far more probable, from a review of the whole history of the human mind, that although this necessity really exists, man would never, unassisted, have attained to the discovery of these truths. At least the three distinguished men just mentioned, are far from founding their opinions merely upon speculation, they appeal to tradition.—to the fathers—

to earlier revelations of God, which had gradually become corrupted. In modern times deism has assumed a more perfect and better sustained form, and endeavoured to found its claims upon the general reason of man. It maintains that human reason is necessarily led to the above-mentioned truths by mere speculation. If this system did not oppose itself to divine revelation, it would be liable to only one objection. It is perfectly correct in saying, that the necessities of the human heart, lead to the adoption of these truths, and that when these necessities are not suppressed, the feelings of every man will urge their admission. But deism denies the influence of history upon itself, were it not for what it derives from history, it would be nothing, it is ungrateful to Christianity to which it is indebted for all its clearness and stability. It presents itself in opposition to revelation, and pretends to be a system which can justify itself as such, at the bar of truth, and to which philosophy lends its sanction ; whereas the doctrines of revelation, are opposed to reason, and are to be rejected as doctrines to which philosophy does not conduct. As soon as deism takes this ground, it presents itself as a system of philosophy. It will only admit what is within the reach of human reason, what it can by argument establish. In this light it is a system utterly unsatisfactory. We have already seen, that when human reason will admit nothing but what it can comprehend, it is led at the very first step to a riddle which it cannot solve. That speculation, if it will be worthy of the name, is necessarily led to deny the personality and liberty of man. But this, deism as admitting rewards and punishments cannot do. If therefore it be not blind it must admit, that in reference to all its leading doctrines it stands upon the ground of faith, that it can neither render these doctrines comprehensible, nor support them by logical argument. It must admit, that it adopts, what it cannot defend at the tribunal of speculation, the

personality and liberty of man. The deist believes these truths, merely upon the ground of experience, and can neither explain nor prove them. But if he is obliged in reference to his most important truths, to rely upon experience, and merely *believes* them, he can no longer object to the believer in the Bible, if he, in reference to other facts, appeals also to experience and receives truths which he cannot explain and cannot by speculation support, but which he has experienced in his own heart. The consequence of this is, that we are brought to admit, that argument is not the only way for attaining a knowledge of the truth. Hence the great Hamann remarks profoundly and truly, in his correspondence with Jacobi, page 19,—“I have repeated it to satiety that it is with the philosophers as with the Jews, neither know what either the Law or Reason is. Reason as the Law, is given for the knowledge of sin and ignorance, and not of grace and truth. The latter must be revealed; they can neither be found out by speculation, nor received from others, nor inherited.”—In other words, the object of philosophising can only be to show, that we are thus led to conclusions which pointedly contradict our nature and consciousness, that we are brought into dilemmas, which involve us in inextricable contradictions. Speculation thus brings us to a sense of our ignorance and helplessness, and we are forced to seek some other way for arriving at a knowledge of divine things. This other way is history. In the external history the truths of God, are communicated as facts, in the history of the heart the truth has the testimony of experience, and thus we are brought to believe in revelation.

SECTION II.

Infidelity in the Romish Church.

Since the existence of Christianity, there has always been infidelity in the world, which the most vigorous church discipline is insufficient to suppress. As the necessities of the human heart, will ever have a tendency to lead men to faith, pride will as constantly lead to infidelity. We have no accurate knowledge of the extent of infidelity in the Romish church, where it must lie concealed. But we can designate two forms in which it has displayed itself. A spirit of profound speculation led to mysticism and through mysticism to pantheism, the spirit of frivolous indifference led to the rejection of the superstitions and the doctrines of the church. To the former class belong John Scotus Eriugena, Almarich of Bena, and Denants in the beginning of the 13th century. On the other hand those who rejected what was superstitious, threw away also what was true. Of this we have early examples as Simon of Tournay, 1200, Professor of Paris. Of the same class was the Emperor Frederick I. and the disciples of the Arabian Philosopher Averroes. These latter held private meetings, in which they ridiculed the truths of the Bible. Infidelity greatly increased, at the time of the restoration of letters. In this period many learned men appeared who were either deists or atheists, as for example, the famous Angelus Politianus, who said "I have once read the New Testament Sed nunquam tempus pejus collocavi;" and the Cardinal Bembo, who when he found that the learned Sadoleto was engaged in a commentary on the Romans, said to him "mitte tales nugas, non enim decent verum gravem." Other examples may be seen in the letters of Marsilius Ficinus

who was a disciple of the new Platonic philosophy which led to his embracing Christianity.

SECTION III.

Of the Infidelity which manifested itself at the time of the Reformation.

The Reformation excited an universal spirit of investigation. Among those who came under the influence of this spirit were many, whose religious feelings were very weak, and who were thus soon led astray. Such as Valentin Gentilis, Servetus, John Campanus, and others. To this class also belong the Socinians, who formed a system essentially different from that of the Gospel. Of many we know nothing, as at this period, it was dangerous to declare such sentiments. Yet in the south of France we find that a regular society of deists was formed, and that many denied even the immortality of the soul. See on this subject the Institutions Chretiennes of Viret 1563. These cases however, are comparatively few, the mass of the Protestants adhered to the faith of the Bible. The first indication of any thing like general infidelity manifested itself in England, in the middle of the 17th century and far more clearly in the middle of the 18th century. From thence it spread to France; even Voltaire availed himself of the English writers, to find objections against Christianity. England and France united to spread the influence to Germany, and Germany spread it to Sweden, Denmark and Russia.

SECTION IV.

Infidelity in the Protestant church in England.

We must for a moment attend to the circumstances under which it arose, and the situation of the English church in the latter half of the seventeenth century. This period is one of the most important in the whole course of ecclesiastical history. It is a remarkable fact, that in so small a portion of christendom, and in so limited a period, such various forms of opinions arose. This period has never been sufficiently studied; we find here all the doctrines which have ever appeared in the Christian church. On the one hand, the greatest latitudinarianism, in theory and practice; on the other, the most bigotted adherence to the Catholic church—the greatest looseness and the most ascetic strictness—separatists and independents who would recognise no church, and those who advocated the strictest alliance between the church and state—profound and learned theologians, theosophers, and mystics, who rejected all theology—the warmest and most active practical christians who scattered blessings around them—and little narrow sects who gave themselves up to every irregularity.

Amidst such discordant elements it is not wonderful, that those who sought the truth, without having any deep feeling on the subject, should be led into infidelity. In no country, was the Reformation so much affected by external circumstances, as in England. This arose partly from the tyrannical authority, with which the houses of Tudor and Stuart forced their opinions upon the people, and partly from the fact, that many who wished to promote the Reformation knew so little of the religion of the heart. Hence when the government changed their opinion, there was a similar change effected in the church—the parties became violent in their hostility to each other and forgot to govern their proceedings

by the rule of the Gospel. Under Elizabeth the parties became more distinct and separated themselves into the three principal classes, Catholics, Episcopalians, and Puritans. The Episcopalians, required the government of the church by bishops—regarded the king as the head of the church—and wished to retain many of the Catholic ceremonies. The Puritans borrowed their principles from the strict Geneva system. They demanded the entire rejection of every thing which could call the Popish church to mind—that the church should be disconnected from the state,—that it should be governed by Presbyters—that the pastors should be chosen by the congregations—that a strict church discipline should be introduced, &c. In many respects they were more ascetic than evangelical, demanding too much external exhibition of piety. As under Mary when the Catholics gained the ascendancy—thousands of Protestants bled upon the scaffold, or were left to languish in prison—while the churches were possessed by Catholic clergymen; so under Elizabeth the Episcopal party commenced a similar course of tyranny. Every citizen was obliged to attend church, at least once a month upon the pain of imprisonment. Under Cromwell the Puritans obtained the reins—all worldly amusements were forbidden—the theatres were abolished—the Episcopal ritual was curtailed—in the court and army prayer meetings were introduced, &c. This period of Cromwell's ascendancy presents a remarkable spectacle. Cromwell himself manifests in life, such a mixture of religion and hypocrisy, that it is difficult to form a clear idea of his character. It seems clear, that this remarkable man had experienced the grace of God upon his heart. He was in his early youth immoral—reformed and led a pious life—he connected himself with the Puritans—studied diligently the Bible—avoided every thing which could give offence and distinguished himself by his benevolence. When the war broke out, he appeared in public life. As a Puritan, he felt

called upon, to make war upon the king and the Episcopal church. After the execution of the king he became Protector. During this period the form of religion was spread among the people to an unexampled degree—in most cases, however, it was merely form. The soldiers held prayer meetings with Cromwell: when the army took the field, it was always amidst the singing of hymns; and the commanders excited the soldiers by repeating passages from the Bible. Every irregularity was severely punished—every soldier carried his Bible with him. The Episcopal party was given to licentiousness; out of hatred to the Puritans they sung immoral songs in entering battle; indecent plays were every where acted and immodest books circulated. In reference to Cromwell himself, it is true, that after his entrance upon public life, he showed himself very ambitious, but that he was cruel cannot be said. And it should be recollected that his party, feeling themselves bound to act according to the examples given in the Old Testament, acted from a sense of duty “in rooting out the Canaanites,” as they expressed it. It is common to ascribe the king’s death to Cromwell, but this is not correct, the real author of the king’s death was Ireton. Even the enemies of Cromwell bear testimony to the goodness of his life—the court physician of Charles I. and II., says, that “in the court of Cromwell no immoral person was endured.” And the venerable Baxter says, “that until he attained to honour, he possessed the pure fear of God.” Many of his expressions also are still preserved, which seem to prove his knowledge of religion. But as true piety among the Puritans, was mingled with so many serious errors—piety itself soon sunk into suspicion. Immediately after this puritanical period, one of an entirely different character was introduced. When Cromwell was removed from the stage, his strict laws ceased to operate; and the restoration of Charles II. produced a complete change. Charles was a frivolous, licentious man—of religion he had nothing but

superstitious fear, which led to his turning Catholic ; a fact which he was afraid to avow, but which became known after his death. After that, around Cromwell, men had collected who had the Bible ever in their hands, and in their mouths, and the voice of prayer had been heard upon every hand—of a sudden, we find a very different race figuring upon the stage. The licentious part of the nobility formed the court of Charles II.—plays, most of them immoral, and all similar amusements were again introduced. Connected with this, many were secretly inclined to the Catholic faith. The principal personages at the court of Charles, were the Duke of Buckingham, and the profligate Earl of Rochester ; the latter, indeed, was converted upon his death-bed and died a Christian.

It was under these circumstances, that the various sects which mark the history of England in this period made their appearances. An account of many of them, may be seen in the work of William Boehme's "Eight Books, upon the Reformation of the Church in England." Altona 1734. The principal of these are the following:—1. The Familists, who maintained that in order to present Christianity in its proper light, all Christians should be reduced to one family : they opposed themselves to all church forms. 2. The Ranters. 3. Antinomians. 4. Muggletonians. 5. Seekers. The Baptists and Quakers also arose in this period. There was also a sect, who professed to be the followers of Jacob Boehme, whose leader was Pordage a physician ; and the Angel Brothers, or Philadelphians, who also adopted the mystical doctrines of Boehme—their leader was Johanna Leade. Besides this, there were the Latitudinarians, many of whom embraced Platonic principles and sought to establish Christianity upon this basis. To this class belongs the celebrated Cudworth, whose work, the "Intellectual System," is a treasury of various erudition. The Deists also made their appearance in this age

—of this latter class the first and the most respectable was Lord Herbert, who died 1633. His most important works are :—*De Veritate*, prout distinguitur a Revelatione, a verisimili, a possibili et a falsa, and *De Religione Gentilium*. Lord Herbert is acknowledged to have been a man of no common talents—he has a great resemblance to our philosopher Jacobi, and was indeed the Jacobi of his age. He possessed, what was then not very common, an honest heart, and sought the truth with much earnestness. He seems to have been led to his deistical principles, by the bitter contentions of the various sects—the arrogance of the Puritans and the haughtiness of the Catholic and Episcopal clergy. This first excited his doubts upon the subject of Revelation and he investigated the subject in a manner which showed he was desirous of arriving at some firm foundation. He wished in the first place, to ascertain the principle of truth in man—and found upon reflecting upon the nature of the understanding, that it could be no sure means of attaining a knowledge of divine things ; since it was so apt to draw false conclusions and was so easily blinded by the corrupt state of the feelings. He hence assumed as the ground of truth, what he called instinct. There is, he said, a certain instinct in man, which testifies to the truth of certain things, about which it is useless any further to reason. Such truths are :—1. the existence of God ; 2. that man is dependent on God, and is bound to reverence him ; 3. that piety is the harmony of all the human faculties ; 4. that there is an essential difference between good and evil ; and 5. there is a future state of rewards and punishments. These principles, he said, include all religion ; that this is the fact, he maintained, was not only proved by instinct, but by the consensus gentium. In so far as Lord Herbert acknowledges these doctrines, he suffered himself to be led, by that deeply seated feeling of the human heart, which testifies to their truth. He overlooked, however.

the fact, that this feeling is never developed without historical influence; or, in other words that these truths are never discovered or acknowledged beyond the influence of Christianity. He also overlooked the fact, that these doctrines are empty and powerless, as soon as they are conceived in any other manner, than that in which they are presented in the Christian religion. God is only for men a living God, when according to the Gospel, he is regarded as the author of a plan of salvation; and when he has historically (not merely through the understanding) revealed himself to his creatures. The difference between good and evil, cannot be affectingly known, when man is not agreeably to the Christian system, regarded as fallen; and piety, in the proper sense of the term, is only possible, when men without self-righteousness, are willing to be saved by grace. Lord Herbert, therefore, should have acknowledged, that his five truths would remain pure abstractions, unless more definitely presented and confirmed by a revelation,—and this would have led him back to Christianity, to which he was really indebted for these five doctrines.

Charles Blount who died 1697 was one of Lord Herbert's followers. He professed himself a deist, and yet acknowledged that deism could have no authority over men, if it did not rest upon an historical basis in Christianity. He at first directed his attacks against particular points in the Christian religion, upon historical and critical principles, endeavouring particularly to render the authority of the four Evangelists suspicious. He maintained there was but little difference between the history of Christ, and that of Apollonius of Tyana.

The most important deistical writer of this period, was John Toland, who while he brought many acute historical and critical objections against Christianity, was led by his speculating turn of mind to Pantheism. Toland was born in 1671 of Catholic parents. He seems early to

have imbibed an abhorrence of the superstitions of the Catholic church, and soon joined the sect of the Puritans. He went to Holland to pursue his studies, under the celebrated Arminians, Limborch and Clericus. The spirit of inquiry was here awaked in his mind, which does not appear to have been of the purest character; he as the French deists, was mainly influenced by vanity. When he returned to England he appeared as the defender of deism and endeavoured in public societies, coffee houses and other places of general resort, to make proselytes to his opinions. In his 20th year he published his work against the Lutheran Clergy, under the title. "The tribe of Judah." We see that the corruption of the clergy, was one of the causes which led to his hostility to Christianity. His principal work which both from its contents and influence, is deserving of attention, is "Christianity without Mystery," which he published in 1696. This book is written with a great deal of talent, as is confessed by Leibnitz who wrote a refutation of it. The modern Rationalists are neither so acute, nor so original. He attacked few particular points, but rather wished to establish general principles. In the Introduction he speaks of the excommunicating and persecuting spirit of clergy. If, says he, you are opposed to the Catholics, and yet differ in the smallest point from the Lutherans, the latter condemn you; if you are against the Lutherans and yet differ from the Catholics the Catholics condemn you; if you are equally indifferent to both you are sure to be condemned by both. His manner of reasoning is as follows: He first defines what he means by Reason, he understands by it in its wider sense, the understanding, in a more restricted sense, the power of judgment and deduction. He then presents the position, that there can be nothing in Revelation contrary to Reason, which he thus proves, Reason is as much from God as the Revelation can be,—if the one contradicts the other. God

contradicts himself. He maintains also that it is not proper to say, that Reason has been corrupted by the fall, since by the fall we have not lost the power to judge and draw inferences. In this respect reason is not corrupted; it is only so far corrupted as it is blinded by our evil feelings. This reasoning is true or false just as it is explained and applied. If what we decide to be contrary to our reason, falls completely within the reach of our understanding, so that it can be fully comprehended and the contrariety clearly made out, then it is impossible that a revelation can teach it. It cannot be said in a revelation that Jericho is only a day's journey and yet a thousand miles from Jerusalem. But a revelation may contain what it is impossible for us to reconcile with our reason and what apparently contradicts it; as for example, the personality of man and the absoluteness of God, or the free agency of men and the agency and government of God; the understanding would decide that one or the other must be given up, yet both are facts which rest upon own consciousness and experience. The whole difficulty is, that the subject lies beyond our reach, the understanding is not competent to its comprehension. The distinction therefore between what is contrary to reason and what is above it, although it has been much controverted is perfectly just. When I say that certain truths are above reason, I mean that they lie in a region for which the understanding has no organ. But if I say that a thing is contrary to reason, I acknowledge the understanding, as competent to judge of the subject, or in other words as having an organ therefor.

Toland's second position that a revelation can contain no contradictions, rests upon the same ground, if the subject falls within the reach of the understanding and the contradiction be clear, a revelation cannot communicate it. What is a contradiction in this sense, is a *non-ens*, a nothing. But care must be taken to observe whether the subject be

not presented with conditions, which remove it beyond the limits of our experience.

His third position is, that it is a perversion of ideas to say that, what cannot be believed upon grounds furnished by reason, must be believed because it is revealed. He maintained that the revelation contains nothing but the objects of faith, believing them depends upon the grounds which reason can present in their support. The matter is thus, The first point to be ascertained is, whether what presents itself as a revelation, be really from God: is that ascertained, the revelation is not only the object but the ground of faith, since any thing being revealed is obviously the best possible ground for believing it. This work of Toland excited great attention, it was read in England, France, and Germany. No less than fifty refutations of it were published, the best is that by Leibnitz "*Annotatiunculæ subitanæ ad Tolandi Librum*," 1701; and the interesting work by the same author "*Discours sur la conformité de la raison et de la foi*"—Toland continued his efforts to promote his doctrines, and published several other not unimportant works. The most interesting is his last in which he acknowledges himself a Pantheist. The title is *Pantheisticon, sive formula, celebrandæ sodalitatis Socraticæ*, 1720. In this book he presented the pantheistical doctrines in the form of the English Liturgy. An alternate chant is thus given, between a moderator and chorus. Moderator; *Pro fanum arcete vulgus*. Chorus; *clusa tutaque sunt omnia*. Moderator; *In mundo, omnia sunt unum, unumque est omne in omnibus*. Chorus; *Quod omne in omnibus Deus est, æternus et immensus, neque genitus neque interiturus*."

The next deistical author whom we shall mention, is the well known philosopher Thomas Hobbes, who died 1679. His philosophical system is an entirely peculiar exhibition of the human mind. with which his religious opinions are

only partially connected. He maintained that God and the angels were not spirits, and denied the liberty of man. He acknowledged a revelation and made the well grounded distinction of a two-fold criterion of a communication from God, the one for those to whom the revelation was immediately made, and the other for those to whom, it was by these messengers of God communicated. He maintained as a main point, that a revelation must teach fidelity to the king, which in the time of the Jewish Theocracy was God. At present monarchs are the representatives of Christ, and that those who communicate a revelation must perform miracles. The Scriptures are the conclusion of all revelation, and are the representatives of all the prophets. He was moderate and proper in all he said, in reference to the relation between reason and revelation. Reason he said was not opposed to the Bible, but it must be humble and not presume to penetrate too far. The expression "to bring every thought into subjection to the obedience of Christ," does not mean, that we must renounce the use of reason, but that we must be obedient and not assume authority. The mysteries of faith, he said, might be compared to medicines, which must be taken just as they are, and after they have mingled themselves in the system manifest their power. He also directed his investigations to the criticism and language of the Scriptures. Here however, he is often perfectly arbitrary ; he denied the authenticity of the Pentateuch, of Joshua, Judges and Samuel ; and endeavoured to justify his doubts, by remarks which were not altogether destitute of foundation. His materialism, led him into very gross ideas of the doctrine of inspiration, and that respecting the angels. Denying the existence of spirit, he made the angels nothing more than fine ætherial beings, yet maintained that in all probability they never appeared to men, considering all accounts of their appearance founded upon deceptions of the imagination. Inspi-

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ration, he said, could be nothing else than the infusion of a kind of subtle air ; when spoken of in reference to the Bible, it must mean a mode of communication analogous to breathing into. The idea of the kingdom of God, is not metaphorical, according to his doctrine, neither is this an invisible kingdom, but kings are the representatives of God, until the coming of Christ. They were also to be regarded as lords of our faith, and authoritative interpreters of Scripture. Miracles, he said were natural events, designed to answer some important purpose. Of the doctrine of redemption he gave much the same representation, as that presented by Grotius. God is a moral governor, men cannot make satisfaction for sins, God can set what price, he sees fit, for our redemption, under the Old Testament he set sacrifices, under the New, Christ and his death. Christians as the subjects of this king must cordially submit to this arrangement. Hobbes properly speaking, made no proselytes, but his materialism, produced for a time considerable effect, the doctrine of human liberty and the existence of spirits were rendered doubtful in the minds of many, and even a species of atheism became to a certain extent, prevalent.

Caspar Lord Shaftesbury died 1773. This man was a fine writer and a polished man of the world ; and his manner of reasoning was such as common men of the world usually adopted. Through his talents and popular style of argument, he attained considerable influence ; his writings in twenty years, passed through seven editions. They were, as might be expected, principally read by persons of rank, from 1760—80, they were also much circulated in France and Germany. The character of what he has written upon the subject of religion, is such as might be expected from a worldly man, who feared to acknowledge the solemn truths of the Bible, and who wished to reduce theology to the level of all other sciences. His principal works are

his *Characteristics*, 3 vols.—*Miscellaneous Treatises*,—and the *Moralist*. In the first mentioned work there is a treatise on fanaticism, in which his religious views are principally presented. The following circumstance gave occasion to this discourse. There were a number of enthusiasts who went to England from the continent to claim the protection of the government under the persecutions to which they were exposed. They were subject to bodily agitations and extacies. The people turned them into ridicule and made puppets which imitated their motions. Shaftesbury embraced this occasion, to publish his general principle, that ridicule is the best test of truth ; what is really holy and reverend remains such, however much it may be derided ; but what cannot stand this test, can be neither holy nor reverend. This is a principle which to a certain extent is true. Ridicule cannot destroy the respect of a pious man for the truth, but its influence upon worldly men may be entirely different. He appealed to the example of Socrates ; and said that the greatest service ever rendered that philosopher, was the ridicule of Aristophanes ; which only drove away what was extravagant, whilst what was truly excellent, will remain to be held in admiration by all generations. He also maintained that man would never arrive at the truth, if he gave way to melancholy ; that cheerfulness was necessary for the discovery and perception of the truth. It was therefore a great perversion, to consider that as truth, which was declared upon a death-bed to be such, when the patient was surrounded by so many circumstances adapted to render him sorrowful. Hence he contended against all abstruse doctrines ; maintaining that plain honest morality and belief in God, was all that men need. Revelation and Inspiration are merely fanaticism. Their advocates indeed say that the former is a real influence of God upon the soul, the latter false and pretended, but the expression of both, he said, was so much

the same, that to make the distinction was no easy task. Philosophical speculation, to be properly directed, must always be connected with wit, which produces the greatest excitement. In his Miscellaneous works he speaks of Revealed Religion. He lamented that the Jewish religion was so melancholy. David particularly was a great hypochondriac, yet he loved dancing and music, and introduced them into the service of religion. The Old Testament too contains many pleasant stories, such as that of Jonah. He was even profane enough to apply his witticisms to Jesus Christ. On the whole he thought the heathen religion entitled to the praise of being the most cheerful. It is easy to see, that such frivolity might produce considerable effect, upon a certain class of men, who desire nothing more than to rid themselves of the serious and threatening doctrines of religion.

Anthony Collins, who died 1729, was a man of exemplary life and distinguished by many estimable qualities. His writings which are distinguished by great accuteness, contain much which modern rationalists have brought forward as new; whole sections may be found translated in the modern dogmatical works.—“Priestcraft in Perfection,” “An Essay on Freethinking,” and “The grounds and reasons of Christianity,” are his principal works. In the second work he says, nothing can be true, which cannot stand the test of free investigation, the truth must be impregnable, and that it is only when every man is allowed freely to present his opinions, that we can hope to arrive at the truth, as every man views the subject through a different glass. Skepticism can only be effectually controverted when allowed to present all its objections. In the “Grounds and Reasons” he presents many weighty and important thoughts, his attack was directed to the point in which Christianity is most assailable, although he did not make the most of its advantages. His object was to prove that

Christianity was founded upon Judaism. This, those who admit the Jewish Revelation would of course allow, since Judaism is represented as preparation for Christianity, the Jewish theocracy containing in external rites what is more explicitly taught in the New Testament. Hence those who cannot believe in the Old Testament, must reject the New, if Christianity be nothing but reformed Judaism. Collins however wished to prove that, admitting the authority of the Old Testament, Christianity must be given up, as it rested upon a wrong interpretation and application of the Old Testament prophecies. The predictions of a Messiah cannot be made to refer to Jesus Christ, of whose life no historical circumstance is clearly foretold. The prophecies commonly explained of Christ really refer to other persons, as Isaiah liii, to Jeremiah, Daniel ix. 4. to the High Priest Onias. With regard to miracles, he maintained they could never be produced as evidences of the truth of doctrines, such external facts and doctrines were of an entirely different nature, and it was therefore a μεταβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος when we would argue from one to the other; an objection which Lessing has presented more fully. There is something of truth in this argument, at least we may admit, that the defence of Christianity was at this time rested too exclusively upon miracles and prophecies. Collins however, was entirely wrong in the manner in which he argued about the prophecies of the Old Testament, requiring all the distinctness and precision of historical narration. But it seems to lie in the very nature of prophecy that it should be less plain than history, and it therefore cannot be expected that when God communicated the knowledge of the future he should make it as clear as the present or the past. He was also arbitrary in his interpretation of those predictions, in which the greatest particularity is to be found, as Isaiah liii, and Micah iv. With regard to miracles it may be admitted, that they cannot be produced as evidence of

doctrines, which contain contradictions ; but they prove that they who perform them, stand in more immediate connexion with God, and when they are at the same time teachers, their miracles are evidence of the truth of what they communicate.

Thomas Wollaston died 1733. He was a professor in the university of Cambridge, though subsequently displaced from his office. From reading the works of Origen he was led to adopt the opinion, that the miracles of the New Testament were not facts, but merely a symbolical method of teaching some particular truth. This was not in itself absolutely inconsistent with faith in the gospel ; but it led him to endeavour to discover historical objections to the account of the miracles ; and these objections were employed by others to discredit every thing of a miraculous character in the Bible.

Thomas Morgan who died in 1743, is distinguished as being the most accurate, among the English deists, in the historical and critical objections which he advanced against Christianity. His objections are directed against many particular passages, and he has in many points anticipated the infidels of France and Germany. What he says also of a doctrinal character is not deficient in acuteness, and all his writings are marked by great frankness and openness. He appears to have been led to his skeptical views, by the doctrine, then prevalent in the church of England, that Christianity was susceptible of demonstration, an opinion which in our own and in every age has led to error. He did not recollect that in so far as revelation supposes the existence of faith, it can only through experience be felt to be true, that its best evidence must be sought in the experience of the heart. Morgan in his search for truth was led from one sect to another, he was a Presbyterian preacher, then Arian, then Socinian, then Quaker, then Deist. He called himself a moral philosopher. His attacks were principally directed

against Judaism, which he said was full of deceit and fanaticism, containing very injurious representations of God. Christianity he said was nothing more than sublimated Judaism, containing indeed many excellent moral precepts; but if we compare the incredible portions, with those worthy of credit, the former will be found greatly to predominate. Miracles he said were foolish. His investigation of the account of the Resurrection of Christ is distinguished by extraordinary acuteness. He maintained also that the apostles differed in their doctrines from each other. He was not only open in avowing his opinions, but also offensive, as when he says, that if God condemns all those who cannot believe the miraculous accounts contained in the Bible, he must adopt the prayer, *Oh God! why hast thou not created me as stupid as other people, that I also might believe and be saved.* And in another place, he says, that revealed religion is a serpent in the bosom of man, which poisons his whole nature.

Infidelity assumed a bolder form, in the celebrated Lord Bolingbroke, secretary of state under Queen Ann. His life, which was that of a libertine is an index to his doctrines. He boasted that he had tasted every pleasure it was possible for him to enjoy; and died as he had lived, cursing religion and those around him. He first published his *Letters on the Study and Utility of History*, which is in many respects a valuable work. In his third Letter he speaks particularly against the Jewish history, and asserted it was a blasphemy against God, to say that he had inspired the Old Testament. The Pentateuch is as much a romance as *Don Quixote*, and every page of the Old Testament is full of the most palpable errors. He committed the great mistake, in opposition to his own better knowledge as a historian, of regarding and treating Moses and Aaron precisely as though they had lived and acted under the same circumstances, with men of his own time. In

his "Essays and Fragments" he attacked Christianity from various sides. He made a distinction between Christianity as taught by Paul, and as taught by Christ himself. Many of the doctrines he said were nonsensical; and the doctrine of Redemption, which was the main point in Christianity, was a heathen doctrine. Christ and his apostles were all fanatics. He also attacked the law of marriage as allowing but one wife and not admitting divorce. He seems on the whole to have approached very near to materialistical atheism, denying the moral attributes of God and admitting only his wisdom and power.

We must also mention a tradesman, Thomas Chubb, who entered the lists against Christianity. He was a tallow-chandler, but early obtained considerable knowledge. His writings are far from being unworthy of notice; he attacked many points with adroitness and talent. He agrees most with Morgan, excepting that he more explicitly opposed the morality of the New Testament. He accuses Christianity of favouring fanaticism, and of not inculcating patriotism. He questioned the doctrines of Providence and a future state of retribution. He proceeded at last from deism to materialism. It is from his example obvious to what Deism leads, when it is not checked by a strong sense of morality.

Most of the writers hitherto mentioned directed their attacks principally against the doctrines, rather than the practical part of Christianity. One of the English deists wrote a work, however, in which he endeavoured to turn the practical part of our religion into ridicule; this was Bernhard Mandeville, a man of French descent who died in London, after a dissolute life, in 1733. He represented the morality of the New Testament, as so strict, that if followed out, it would necessarily lead to the destruction of the state. The great defect of the Christian system was, that it condemned pride and ambition, which were far more pow-

erful motives to good than religion. In his "Fable of the Bees," he represents a community of bees, which although abounding in vices continued to flourish; for vice itself to continue must have some regard to the interests of the community. The bees suddenly took the notion to bring about a high state of virtue in order to arrive at a still more prosperous condition. The gods heard their prayer, but the state soon went to pieces. The soldiers were disbanded because there was no war, the lawyers were idle because there was no contention, refinement and learning disappeared because there was no ambition." He hence drew the conclusion, that vice is absolutely essential to the good of the state; all that is requisite is, to keep it within certain bounds.

The writers hitherto mentioned, attacked Christianity in detail, or endeavoured to establish some few general principles without attempting to erect a regular system of Deism. This was first effected by Matthew Tindal in his "Christianity as old as the creation," published in 1760; a work which has been called the deistical Bible. Tindal was employed in the service of James II., and became on this account a Catholic. Under William III., he turned Protestant, apparently from conviction. He appears, in general, to have been honest and sincere in his opinions and in his opposition to Christianity. The contents and arrangement of his work are the following: Man needs no outward positive revelation, but if such should be given him, it can contain nothing, but what he has already in his own reason (an idea presented by Kant and Fichte in a different form.) It can contain nothing but a moral system, whatever else it may communicate, must be regarded merely as symbols. He maintained, that God could not wish that men should ever be without religion, or possess only such as was inadequate. If, therefore, we will not charge God with injustice, we must admit, that man has had from the beginning, a religion sufficient

for his purpose. The revelation which is original and universal consists in two truths : first, the existence of God, and second, that we are created not for God's sake, but for our own. This latter truth is adapted to fill us with gratitude to God, and lead us to follow his benevolent example, (a bold conclusion.) If it be asked how we are to attain the happiness which God has led us to desire ? I answer, that the happiness of every being consists in its perfection—man is perfect when he lives according to the dictates of reason. If a revelation be communicated, it is impossible that it should demand more than this, since it would be unreasonable and cruel in God to demand more than was requisite to our perfection. If then we admit, that there is a law written upon the heart of man, worthy of confidence, we must either acknowledge, that nothing can be revealed not contained in this law, or maintain that God is mutable and increasing in knowledge. Upon the same ground that the Christian regards the Gospel as the most perfect revelation, must the deist regard the religion of reason, which men have always possessed in the same light. But how can the deist prove, the existence of such a perfect law in the heart of man, when the whole ancient world is filled with superstition and idolatry, and when this religion of reason is to be found no where in existence. * The deist borrows all this from Christianity, and cheats his own soul, in thus taking what in itself is meagre and impotent, and leaving all from which it can derive life and power. If a revelation, asks Tindal, should contain new doctrines, how could we have any certainty of their truth ? To be of use they must be ascertained as the two original truths mentioned above, but this is impossible when the revelation is external, made in a strange language, admitting of so many different interpretations, and filled with obscurities. Besides these *à priori* principles, Tindal, in the latter part of his work, attacked Christianity more in detail. He endeavoured to show that

the principal personages of the Bible, particularly those mentioned in the Old Testament, are unworthy of respect ;— that many of the doctrines and expressions of the Bible (for example, that God hardens the heart) lead to the grossest errors. This work was extensively circulated both in England and Germany, as it was at once logically and mildly written. There appeared an hundred and six refutations of it.

After all these works had been written and published, the tendency to deism was deeply and widely spread among the people ; in the church it could not be openly acknowledged, although it was secretly entertained. In Scotland where the discipline was severe, preachers had in many places their private meetings, for discussing deistical opinions. The orthodox theologians did not take the proper course in defending religion and therefore only increased the evil. They either strongly insisted upon the church doctrines, and required a forced acceptance of them, or they endeavoured to effect a reconciliation by softening down the doctrines of the Bible, until little was left worth contending for. This was the case with Teller and Spalding. Lessing compared this class of theologians, to a master of a house who kept railing at a set of thieves, and yet threw out to them all his goods, which they had nothing to do but to carry away.

We have yet to mention one other opposer of Christianity nearer to our own times, a man distinguished for his talents, and interesting to us, as having given occasion to the philosophy of Kant. This is David Hume, equally celebrated as a historian and philosopher. He was first intended for the law ; but devoted himself to philosophy and belles lettres. In 1763 he was secretary of the English legation in Paris. From 1769 he lived independently and died in 1776. The most worthy of a mention, in a theological view, of his writings, are his Essays in four volumes. Of these two parti-

to
Hume

cularly are deserving of remark, that on the Natural History of Religion, and that on Miracles. Besides these his Dialogues on Natural Religion, which is, perhaps, the most able work ever written on the side of deism.

In his Essay on the Natural History of Religion, the leading idea is that the foundation of all religion must be sought in man himself, and that the result of a careful examination of the subject is, that the essence of religion consists in the admission of God and morality. On these points all nations are agreed, but in respect to the attributes of God and other doctrines, they differ. In the Essay on Miracles he presents the following views, which were afterwards widely adopted in Germany. All faith, he says, rests upon experience, or testimony. The former of these is far surer than the latter, especially when the one contradicts the other. With respect to the miracles of the New Testament, the case is thus: certain persons assert that about eighteen centuries ago, these miracles occurred. It may be admitted that nothing can be urged against the credibility of these witnesses. But my own experience gives me no knowledge of the existence of miracles. I see cause and effect so connected, that within the range of my experience no miracles have occurred, and the experience of 4000 years teaches me the same. It is impossible, therefore, that the testimony of these good people, can stand against my experience and that of 4000 years. We remark merely on the form of this argument. That miracles do not occur every day and come under the experience of every man, lies in the very idea of a miracle, for in the biblical sense, they are events which only occur, when God has a particular purpose to answer for the benefit of men. Hence no one can demand that miracles should constantly take place. In regard to the experience of 4000 years, it is in no way opposed to admission of miracles, for in this period multitudes have testified to their occurrence. The only ques-

tion is, whether the testimony of such persons is historically true. In this objection of Hume, however, there is some truth; that is, that the mind cannot by the testimony of any number of credible witnesses, be absolutely necessitated to believe that a miracle has actually occurred. A certain disposition or state of feeling is necessary to lead us to place our faith in such testimony. But this is not only true in relation to historical testimony in favour of miracles, but to all historical testimony and even in reference to our own experience of external events. For if we had the positive testimony of our senses, in favour of a supernatural event, and yet had no disposition to believe it, it would fail to command our faith. Hence Voltaire declares, that if in clear day light in the view of thousands, and in his own sight, a miracle should occur, he would still be more inclined to doubt the soundness of his senses, than to admit its reality. When the state of the mind is once fixed, it cannot be changed by such external occurrences. Hence, in the scriptures, faith is represented as a virtue. The most important work of Hume, is his *Dialogues on Natural Religion*: they contain many remarks which later deists have overlooked. His object is to controvert all those who profess to be able, by argument, to establish any religious doctrine whatever—deists as well as Christians. Under the deistical dogmatists he understood, those who maintained that the principles of Natural Religion were susceptible of proof.—Under the Christian, those who founded their doctrines, upon a sense of guilt and the longing after divine communication implanted in our nature. He endeavoured to show, that neither could defend their principles. His conclusion is, that all doctrines on divine things are doubtful—the divine existence may indeed be admitted, but we cannot show how far it is analogous to our own. Providence and immortality can neither be proved nor believed. (What remains of the idea of God after this, is emp-

ty ; and it is indifferent on these principles whether there be a God or not.) Against the deistical dogmatists he objected, that they argued from the order and arrangement of the world for an intelligent author. A conclusion from effect to cause is just. But in arguments of this kind when we draw the conclusion of the existence of similar causes, the effects must be similar. But in the comparison of the world with a piece of human mechanism, the difference of the things compared is immense. When we dive into the depths of nature, we find so much that is wonderful and unaccountable, that we can no longer compare the world with any thing which is the result of human art. The difference is so great, that we should be led to conclude, that the world owed its existence to an author entirely different from the author of any piece of human ingenuity. It may be admitted that the work of God, as to quantity, may be compared to that of man, but not as to quality. In the world we find no dead mechanism, but an ever-living, creating power—so that a man deeply initiated into the mysteries of nature, must admit, that the world is more like a plant or an animal, than a watch or a loom. If this be true, and we argue for like causes, from like effects, we should arrive at the conclusion that the author of the world is an infinite vegetative power. If it be said that this gives no explanation of the intelligence and design manifested by this productive power, it may be answered that when you demand of me, whence from all eternity the intelligence of this productive power is derived, I can demand of you whence comes from eternity the intelligence of God as a personal being. It is more natural to rest satisfied with the first conclusion, and admit the intelligence of the world, than to assume the existence of a personal being. In this way Hume showed that speculation instead of leading to theism leads to pantheism.

Against the believing theologian, who takes part in the

dialogue, and who rejoices over the refutation of the deist, Hume says, you see that on the ground of speculation deism is utterly incapable of proof, but maintains that a sense of our miseries must lead us to admit a divine revelation. Here the Deist denies the greatness of human misery, and endeavours in this way to disprove the necessity of a revelation. But Hume admits that the amount of human misery is indeed immense. Think of the outward afflictions of poverty, sickness, and misfortunes of every kind. Of the inward sorrows, of grief, care, and remorse. Think not only of the miseries of man, but of the destruction carried on in the animal and vegetable world. We see every where, a war of all against all. If we suppose a heavenly Being alighted on our world, shown our prisons filled with criminals, hospitals crowded with sick, fields of battle strewn with slain, the sea covered with wrecks, whole regions wasted by disease and famine, who should demand where was all our boasted happiness, and we should show him our societies, theatres, masquerades, &c., would he not mournfully smile, and say we were only showing him the other side of our miseries. All this, says Hume, cannot be denied, but the difficulty is to reconcile all this with the belief in the existence of an Almighty and merciful God. If he be good and Almighty, what prevents his changing this miserable state of his creatures. Verily, he exclaims, the mechanism has much in its favour, and still more the opinion, that if there be a God, he has no perception of either good or evil. Even in this reasoning of Hume there is truth, in so far, as that it is impossible to prove the mercy and love of God from the present state of the world, and it requires no little faith to retain amidst all the sorrows and trials of the present life, our confidence in a benevolent Providence. It is on this account that faith is represented in the Scriptures, as something so

great and noble, and difficult; and he who has gone through the mazes of speculation will learn to estimate its excellence.

SECTION V.

Infidelity in France.

It is exceedingly interesting to remark, how the diversity of national character has modified the various systems of Infidelity. The Englishman is in his whole disposition practical, with this disposition is connected a desire of certainty and a high appreciation of what is morally good. Hence we remark among the English deists a desire to arrive at some fixed and stable truths, and an avoiding of useless speculations which lead to no solid results, connected with a dread of consequences dangerous to morals. We observe however, a deficiency in depth of speculation, which prevented their arriving at the result of all logical skepticism. The Germans have not the practical disposition of the English. In them feeling and speculation predominate over the will. Hence they seek less in their systems what is useful, not forming their theories to use them, or apply them to common life, but for the sake of having them. The German as the Englishman, seeks for the truth, for something positive and sure, but this arises in the former not so much from a practical disposition, as the desire to have a well constructed theory. Infidelity in Germany therefore has always endeavoured to form itself into a system: and hence, whilst it has deviated more from what is morally and practically important, it has been more logical and consequent than among the English: the Germans have carried both the truth and the falsehood further. Among the French we see much less of a desire to arrive

at any certain and positive results, than among either of the other nations. They permitted themselves to be more influenced by transient circumstances; and were superficial or profound without stopping to consider the consequences. French infidelity never endeavoured to form a system which presented itself as truth. It was more desirous to destroy than to build up for itself. Most of the French Deists had indeed something of a materialistical system, but they did not always bring it forward, and seemed only intent upon destroying the public confidence in existing institutions and received doctrines. We shall therefore have little to say of French systems, but shall regulate our remarks according to the importance of the several works.

At the close of the 17th and commencement of the 18th centuries many irreligious books had been brought into circulation, but these on account of the strict censorship at that time exercised over the press in France, were generally printed in Holland. The most important work was Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary. Bayle was an original thinker, as acute on philosophical as he was critical on historical subjects. He attacked the received doctrines of Christianity, and raised doubts upon many historical points which till then had not been questioned upon the continent. His skepticism upon the more thinking class of the public produced considerable effect, so that many persons of distinction applied to Leibnitz to refute his objections. The first completely deistical work proceeded from a female, which is much more systematical than most that followed it. Mary Huber who died in Lyons 1759, is the name of the authoress. In her early life she manifested a strong tendency to inward religion and formed an acquaintance with the writings of the mystics. It was through their influence apparently, that she was led to an indifference respecting the doctrines of Christianity, and to make every thing to turn on the question, whether the soul was in connexion

with God, and fulfilled his commands. The title of her work, which although not distinguished for acuteness, is more methodical than other French works of the kind, is "*Lettres diverses sur la Religion Essentielle à l'homme, distingué de ce qui n'est qu'accessive.*" This lady also made herself remarkable, by holding religious deistical meetings.

The men who had the most decisive and extensive influence in promoting deistical principles not only in France, but also in Germany and Russia, were Voltaire and Rousseau; two very different men; each having his distinct public upon which he operated to the injury of religion. Voltaire was born in 1694. He manifested, as early as his sixteenth year, by the publication of his *Œdipus*, his hatred against the hierarchy. In various other poetical and prose works he gave full play to his satire against the Catholic church which naturally raised him a great many enemies. In 1725, in consequence of some private disputes, he left France and went over to England. Here he collected the weapons which he afterwards directed against Christianity, principally from the writings of Morgan and Tindal. In 1748 he went to the court of Stanislaus, the deposed king of Poland, and in 1750 was invited to Berlin, by Frederick the Great. After his removal to Berlin, the admiration entertained for him throughout Europe became extravagantly great; as he was looked upon not merely as a writer of distinguished talents, but as the bosom friend of Frederick. His splendid course here, however, was soon ended. Through various instances of misconduct he ruined his character, and lost the confidence of his patron, who could no longer remain blind to his avarice and ambition. He got involved in controversy with Maupertius, the president of the Berlin Society, whom he considered as his rival, and whom he endeavoured, by all manner of cabals, to displace. Neglecting the frequent commands of

the king to put an end to these attempts, and publishing a scandalous satire against Maupertius, which was burnt by the common hangman, he was compelled to leave the country. The circumstances connected with his departure were still more dishonourable. The king had intrusted him with many of his manuscripts which Voltaire carried off with him; probably with a view of selling them at an enormous price to some bookseller. He was however pursued and arrested at Frankford, and not only forced to restore the manuscripts he had purloined, but deprived of the order by which he had been decorated by the king. After this he determined to settle in Geneva. Here he wished to introduce a company of players; but as the severe laws introduced by Calvin, against theatres, were still in force, he was unable to effect his purpose. To remain without a playhouse was to him intolerable; he therefore removed to the little state of Gex, and purchased an estate and gratified his pride by appearing as lord of the manor. He built a church here with the inscription "Deo Voltaire." In his old age, he could not resist the impulse of his vanity, to present himself to the admiration of the public in Paris. His reception was attended by every circumstance of the most extravagant flattery, and he seems literally to have lost his life through the quantity of incense burnt in his praise; a mode of adulation little suited to his weak nerves, and which is thought to have occasioned the illness of which he died in 1778. What Voltaire has written against religion can only appear in its proper light, when viewed in connexion with his character. Very few authors have contrived so completely to tarnish their reputation. In Berlin he manifested the most inordinate ambition, which sought by every device to attain its object. Every one who was not a servile flatterer was in his eyes condemned. With this was connected the most insatiable avarice, which led to every form of dishonesty. He endeavoured upon false representations of

his poverty to secure grants of money from the king, he sold his manuscripts over and over to booksellers, was involved in a law suit with some Jews whom he attempted to defraud of a large sum. His licentiousness poisons all his writings but is particularly manifested in his "Maid of Orleans." He was besides all this a hypocrite; as soon as he was brought into any danger for his opinions, he professed implicit faith in all the doctrines of the Catholic church. He was accustomed to conclude all discussions on this subject, with the expression, as I confess my ignorance I submit myself entirely to the holy church. In Tournay he subscribed a Catholic confession of Faith, and afterwards published his *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*, in which the Christian religion is violently attacked. In such a character, it is evident there could be no honest search after the truth. In regard to philosophy he was a skeptic. In his work "*Sur le Philosophe ignorant*" he declares himself doubtful of the truth of deism. Providence and immortality he denied, the soul is material, thought mechanical. He acknowledged a God, but one who had nothing to do with the world. He recommended the argument, *ab utile et a tuto*, saying, it could do no harm if any one chose to believe in a God, and it was at least good for the police. His attacks on revelations are mere rhapsodies. He takes up a particular doctrine, a historical fact, a passage of Scripture, or a portion of ecclesiastical history, and endeavours to present it in the most ridiculous light possible. He not only perverts facts, and makes false quotations, but brings forward passages as contained in the Bible which are no where to be found in it. Having quoted a passage as from the Prophet Habakkuk, a pedantic German scholar once waited on him, and after many apologies for presuming to question the correctness of his quotation, said he was obliged to confess that notwithstanding all his diligence in searching the original and ancient versions, he was unable to find the pas-

sage referred to, Voltaire contented himself with the reply, "Monsieur Abakuk est capable de tout." Citing only the vulgate, he is often led into mistakes, yet his worshippers received without questioning every thing he said. The morality of Epictetus and Cicero he maintains, is absolutely la même, with the Christian. He wrote against the Pentateuch without knowing what it was, for he speaks of le livre de Moyse et Josua et le reste du Pentateuque ! Ninus and Belus he maintains could never have existed, as Asiatic names never end in *us* ! Messiali is a Hebrew word which in Greek is expressed by "καλομενος," what he meant to say is not easy to divine. He often asserted that before the time of Theodosius no respectable heathen became a Christian. He maintained also, that the fabulous Jewish book Toldoth Jeschu, was an authentic source of information respecting Christ and his apostles. His principal writings directed against religion are his, "Candide, L'Evangile de Jour," and "Les Questions sur l'Encyclopédie." The first is a Romance, which contains the history of a man driven about by all manner of misfortunes, and in which the author endeavours to show that the sources of consolation commonly applied to in affliction, are vain and ridiculous. The object of the work is to ridicule the doctrine of a Providence. The writings of Voltaire have been spread even to Siberia, where it is said they are still much read by persons of property. The Governor of Siberia replied to some one, who urged him to take these books out of the hands of the people, that "to us it is not commanded to root out the tares, but to sow the wheat."

Jean Jacques Rousseau born in Geneva, 1712. After a disturbed and unsettled life he died in 1778. Rosseau had as little of a system in his infidelity as Voltaire. In the latter skepticism was the result of vanity and frivolity, in the former of a morbid sensibility which through vanity de-

generated into mere caprice. The leading features of his character were sentimentality and capricious vanity. The former was deeply seated in his nature, and the circumstances in which he was thrown, served to increase it. His education was effeminate, and his youth devoted to reading novels. A particular circumstance excited in him a love of paradox which fed his vanity. The academy of Dijon proposed the question, whether science and civilization were serviceable to morality and human happiness. Rousseau who determined to write on the question first intended to give an affirmative answer, but a friend suggesting that he could never distinguish himself by such an every day reply, decided him to take the opposite side. This paradoxical turn, his vanity led him to retain, and prompted him to advance new and peculiar views both in religion and politics. In the latter he became an advocate for liberty and equality, and in his work "*Sur le Contract Social*" published the doctrine that the authority of rulers rests only upon the consent of the people. In religion this bent of mind should have led him to come out as the decided enemy of all positive doctrines, but here his sensibility stood in his way, and he felt so much what was elevated in Christianity, that he declared, such was the power and sublimity of the Scriptures, that God only could be their author. But on the other hand, while he allowed that the feelings led to such a conclusion, he maintained that the understanding could not admit a revelation; and that there were so many contradictions, so much that was incredible in the Bible, as to render the idea that they had been immediately communicated from God, inadmissible. He called his, therefore, an involuntary skepticism. Yet in general he speaks with great reverence of the Bible and of Christ, extolling particularly his mildness and humility. Even if any one, he said, could live and die as Christ did, he could not do it with the same humility. He instituted a compa-

rison between Christ and Leonidas, Epaminondas and Socrates, and adds that if Socrates lived and died like a wise man, Christ lived and died like a God. He maintained that in every religion, we could only admit for truth, which had in its favour the testimony of our own hearts. In his "*Lettres de la Montagne*," he denied that miracles could be advanced as a proof of Christianity, and says, that Christ himself appealed to his doctrines and not to his miracles, in support of his claims. His principal work is the one on Education, 4 vols. In this work a confession of faith is put into the mouth of a vicar, which expresses Rousseau's own views. His influence was equally injurious with that of Voltaire. The vulgarity of the latter could not affect persons of feeling and worth, but the influence of Rousseau extended over those who had some regard for religion and morality. He presented his doubts in a way which was best adapted to give them effect on such individuals. Constantly professing his willingness to believe if the difficulties could only be taken out of the way. The source of Rousseau's infidelity is clearly to be learned from his character, as he has himself drawn it in his confessions. It is plain that vanity and pride were so predominate in him, that his better feelings could exert but little influence. It is useful to compare the confessions of Rousseau with those of Augustin, as the one teaches us the state of mind, which is suited to the discovery of the truth, and the other that which is inconsistent with its perception.

The writings of these two men had so filled France with infidelity, that even during their lives, numerous authors appeared, who went further than their masters. It became the fashion in the higher circles to ridicule religion, and it was considered a mark of *bon ton* to laugh at the priests as blockheads and deceivers; and, unfortunately every thing found objectionable in the Catholic system was referred to Christianity itself. The infidel party soon felt themselves

strong enough to attempt to operate upon a larger scale. This was undertaken in a work designed to throw light upon every department of knowledge—the “*Encyclopédia Universelle, ou Dictionnaire Universelle des Sciences, des Arts, et des Metiers* ;” an edition of 2000 copies of this was greedily bought up in a single year. The editors were D’Alembert and Diderot ; both atheistical skeptics. The former seemed rather inclined to conceal his atheism, and said he merely wished to ascertain the truth and present a fair view of both sides of the question. But the arguments for the truth were stated in the weakest manner possible, those against it in the strongest. Diderot was more open. In his “*Pensées Philosophiques*,” he endeavoured to show, that belief in God’s existence was not only feebly supported, but altogether unnecessary, and that it was better not to trouble ourselves about it. He said the same respecting the immortality of the soul, and even of moral truths. The influence of this man was very considerable ; and when called to the court of Catherine II. of Russia, he succeeded in poisoning the higher ranks of society with his opinions. He was active in making proselytes, endeavouring to convince those around him, how unhappy the belief in God made man, by keeping him in constant fear of his justice. He did not fully present his system, but materialism lay at its foundation.

Many other works appeared in this period which spoke out without the least reserve. Julian De la Mettrie, a physician, who spent the latter part of his life as wit in the court of Frederick II. was one of those who were the most gross in his materialism. See his “*L’homme Machine*,” and “*Traites de la vie heureuse*.” In the latter (Amsterdam edition vol. i. p. 46.), he says, “*L’univers ne sera jamais heureux à moins qu’il ne soit athée* :”—but if atheism could be once fully propagated, religion would be destroyed root and branch: nature then inoculated as with a holy princi-

ple would maintain its rights and its purity. Deaf to every other voice, the peaceful mortal would follow no other rule than the dictates of his own nature. This man died as he had lived, like a brute; he killed himself by eating immoderately of a preparation of mushrooms. Frederick II. who had honoured him so when alive, had a very sarcastic epitaph inscribed upon his tomb. The influence of these and other works of a similar character, was to produce throughout France, not only an indifference to religion, but also to morality. • The poison descended from the higher to the lower classes, and its progress was far more rapid than in Germany. The result and the acme of these doctrines, is presented in the French Revolution. The rapid progress of infidelity at this period, is not, however, to be exclusively attributed to the influence of these writings. Many other causes combined to produce this effect; one of the most important of these, was the general immorality which prevailed at the court of Louis XV. and the priesthood endeavouring to uphold religion by mere external means. The political state of France also was such; there were so many impositions and irregularities that the people became far more interested in politics than in religion. Even before decided hostility was declared against religion, the services of the church had sunk into general contempt. The open war, against all that is holy, commenced in 1793, Christianity was then even in externals disregarded, the Sabbath was abolished; marriage and baptism as merely civil affairs; were brought under the cognizance of the magistrates. The storm broke out, particularly in the month of November, when the government determined to plunder the churches to replenish the exhausted resources of the state. This step was in many places hailed with the greatest applause. At this time many of the clergy came forward and solemnly renounced at once religion and their offices. The Bishop of Paris, Gobet, appeared before the bar of the national con-

vention with the clergy of his diocese and made the following declaration : " I have as long as I possessed any influence, used it to promote the love of liberty and equality. The revolution is approaching its conclusion with rapid strides, nothing can now exist but liberty and equality. May my example serve to confirm the authority of these two goddesses. Long live liberty and equality." The President of the convention replied, " The confession, citizen, which you have made, proves that philosophy has made the greatest advances. It is the more worthy of praise as you are the Bishop of the capital, as thus Paris has the triumph of being the first proclaimer of reason." He then saluted him with the kiss of brotherhood and presented him the Jacobin cap. Julien, a Protestant minister from Toulous, then rose and said, " How glorious is it to make such a declaration under the auspices of reason, philosophy, and the constitution. I have, for twenty years, been clothed with the office of a Protestant minister ; but I now declare, that I will no longer retain it. Henceforth, the laws shall be my temple—liberty my God—my country my worship—the constitution my gospel." Amidst this despicable insanity, it is delightful to hear the voice of truth, which was yet strong and bold enough to make itself heard. Gregoire, Bishop of Blois, arose in his place and spoke with much effect, until he was forcibly driven from the tribune. " I rise," he said, " because I had a very indistinct idea of what had happened before my arrival. I hear men speak of sacrifices for the country ; to these I am accustomed. Of proofs of devotion to the country ; these have I given. Is the question of income ? I resign it to you. Is the question of religion ? That is beyond your power. I hear much about fanaticism and superstition ; these have I ever opposed. But if the words be explained, it will be seen that religion itself is intended. As for me, I have received my office neither from you nor from the people : I consent-

ed to bear the burden of a Bishoprick, I was urged to accept it, and now I am urged to lay it aside:—but I bid you defiance; I will remain a Bishop, and scatter blessings around me.” The tumult became so great, that he was obliged to desist; and, although he appealed to the liberty of worship, which had been established, he was hurled from the tribune; but was happy enough to escape the fury of the mob. The conduct of the capital was a signal for the provinces; congratulations were received from all quarters, from clergymen who hastened to resign their offices, and pray to be regarded as citizens, and taken into political employment. Something was now to be placed in the room of discarded Christianity; and the convention determined to establish the worship of Reason. A representative of Reason was accordingly selected; (her character may be easily imagined)—the cap of liberty was placed upon her head, a blue mantle was thrown over her shoulder, and her arm rested upon a spear. Thus arrayed, she was introduced, amidst the shouts of the people, into the hall of the convention and placed opposite the President, who addressed her in the following terms:—“Fanaticism is at last departed, and left its place to reason, justice, and truth. The feeble eyes of superstition, could no longer endure the light of the present illumination. We have brought to day an offering into the temple of Reason, not to a soulless idol, but to a woman, who is a master piece of nature. This holy image has inflamed all our hearts, but one wish, but one prayer, is now heard;—no longer any priest, and no longer any other Gods than those which nature gives us.” After this, the goddess was placed upon the seat of the President, and received from the secretary the usual salutation amidst the shouts of the Jacobins. The crowd thence proceeded to the church of St. Denis, which was desecrated with songs to liberty and nature. The church received the name of “Temple de la Raison.” The rage against religion, became now more open and furious; the

clergy were forced to give up their offices; and if they refused, were sent out of the country. The inscription "Temple de la Raison," was affixed to the churches, and "La mort est un sommeil éternel," to the cemeteries, in various places throughout the country. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that many Christians in Germany, should think that this was the predicted period of antichrist; for, in no period of history, was the insane opposition to religion, carried to such extravagant lengths. From this time, one enormity and murderous outrage followed another, until the bloody Robespierre stepped forward as the advocate of religion. In the beginning of the year 1794, he proposed to the convention, to acknowledge a supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul; and to appoint festivals in honour of this Being. The convention agreed to the proposition, and made the proclamation, "*Le peuple Francais reconnoit dès aujourd'hui un être suprême et l'immortalité de l'ame;*" which was posted upon the churches. Thirty six festivals were appointed, which were little else than days devoted to amusement. Among these were the following: the festival of the Supreme Being—of rights and of nature—of the human race—of the hatred of tyrants, &c. On the first celebration of the first mentioned festival which occurred in the spring, Robespierre delivered an inflated discourse in honour of the Supreme Being and a hymn was sung in which the following passage occurs: "To thee, from whom the free Frenchman has derived his existence, does he lift up his voice, proud, if he must obey a king, to have thee for a sovereign." It is the common opinion, that this despot acted the part of a hypocrite in all this business, merely to gain credit with those who still retained some little regard for religion. But it is more probable that he acted from a species of conviction, and had some feeling on the subject. It is possible, that he wished in this way to quiet his conscience, which must constantly

have upbraided him for the multitude of his bloody crimes ; and it is known, that in the latter part of his life, he was tormented by remorse, until his ignominious execution closed his career. This deistical worship obtained no consistency, the festivals were merely a kind of theatrical exhibitions. In 1797 the Catholic religion was again introduced, on the condition that the priests should be dependent on the state, and not on the Pope. Many, however, who had imbibed the principles of Rousseau, and had some regard for religion, were unfavourable to the restoration of the Catholic worship. They formed themselves, therefore, into a distinct society, and assumed the name of Theophilanthropists. Their main principles were, love to God and man, and belief in the immortality of the soul. The directory favoured their object, in order to have something to oppose to the Catholics. Their religious service consisted in moral discourses—singing hymns, mostly borrowed from the Psalms ; and certain symbolical ceremonies ; such as, crowning with wreaths of flowers ; presenting fruit on wooden dishes, &c. In 1798 they had ten churches in their possession, and in most of the cities of the provinces, there were societies formed after the model of that existing in Paris. In 1799 the society was in the most flourishing state, but the people found the service so dry and uninteresting, that in 1802, it was almost dissolved. The consuls took from them their church, and they soon entirely disappeared. The deistical worship established in London, by Williams, shared a similar fate. Frederick II. discovered his penetration, when he replied to the Marquis d'Argenson, who wished to establish a worship of the same kind in Potsdam, “that he must take subscriptions for ten years.” The Catholic religion regained its ascendancy : Bonaparte concluded a concordate with the Pope ; and this fanaticism of infidelity passed away as a meteor. The seeds of infidelity, doubtless, still remain ; but many of the greatest zealots against reli-

gion, as it is proved by decisive examples, were really converted. Of this number was Julien, the Protestant minister who publicly renounced religion, but before his death, he returned to the faith of the Bible.

SECTION VI.

History of infidelity in Germany.

The character of infidelity in Germany, and the manner of its developement, is, in a three-fold respect, different from that which it assumed in other countries. In the first place, it was much more consequent; and hence, the German infidels, proceeded more and more to Pantheism, which is the logical result of skeptical speculation.

2. It displayed itself more gradually, and advanced more orderly, step by step, and hence took a deeper hold on the very life of the people. In no country, has infidelity pervaded every department of society, as in some portions of Germany.

3. In other lands, the clergy stood as watchmen and guardians, against the attacks of skepticism; as was the case particularly in Protestant England, where the clergy were found faithful to their trust. But Germany saw, what never had been seen before, that those who were appointed to teach and defend the truths of revelation, should step forward to oppose them. On the same grounds, and, in part, with the same tendency, as Lucian and Celsus from among the heathen, attacked Christianity, did many of the German theologians array themselves against the religion of which they were the servants. Most of this class sought, through a regular analysis of the general truths, or ideas of religion, by scientific investigation, to prove the falsity of the doctrines of the Bible. It is clear, that in proportion

as this disposition prevailed among the clergy, must infidelity extend and deepen itself in the hearts of the people. Various circumstances conspired to favour the spread of this skeptical spirit among the German theologians. Of this nature we may notice the following as among the most important :

1. Many circumstances connected with the reign of Frederick the II.—as the residence of so many gay despisers of religion at his court, who extended their influence over most persons of rank in the country ; the great liberty of opinion which Frederick admitted, to an extent which had never before been allowed.

2. The extended admiration of French literature, which produced at this period little else than works ridiculing religion. For even those which did not expressly treat of the subject, yet had a tincture of the reigning spirit. We must mention also the love of the English literature, particularly at the close of the last century. Most of the free thinking works were translated into German ; and although the refutations of these works were also translated ; as translating was the order of the day ; yet, as the Chancellor Pfaff of Tübingen remarked, “these refutations were not of such value, as to compensate for the evil.”

3. The influence of a literary periodical work, established in Berlin, conducted by Nicolai, which systematically recommended all works written in opposition to religion, and neglected or condemned those in its favour. This work was commenced in 1765, and increased to 118 volumes. The influence of this work, was far greater than any such review could have at present.

4. The influence of the Philosophy of Wolf, out of which the Popular Philosophy arose. Wolf's Philosophy contained a principle which operated fatally, not only against revelation, but against inward piety. It pretended to

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be able to demonstrate the truths of revelation, in a mathematical manner upon principles of Reason, which subjected these truths to the spirit of speculation. It made also the broadest distinction between natural and revealed religion. It did not indeed deny the latter, but it accustomed the people to consider them as different; and as the truths of natural religion were represented as so firmly grounded, many were induced to embrace them as sufficient. It operated also against Christianity, by its cold syllogistical method of reasoning, which tended to destroy every thing that was vital, not merely the religion of the heart, but every finer feeling which was not satisfied with dull abstract forms. It was from this system, as before remarked, the Popular Philosophy arose, which undertook to prove on the principles of Reason, the truths of Natural Religion. Without resting satisfied with the views proposed by Wolf, it turns them all to its advantage. To this school, belong Jerusalem, Garve, Reimarus, Eberhardt, Moses Mendelssohn, &c. The worst thing about this system was that it laid claim to the name of Philosophy, when it was in fact, nothing more than a set of arbitrary opinions. Its defenders who were but weak thinkers, stood in breathless amazement, when Kant and others appeared upon the field. Thus Jacobi, in his latter years, said, when the works of Hegel appeared, that he had been able to understand all other philosophical works, but these were too abstruse for him: and Mendelssohn could not understand Jacobi, nor Garve, Mendelssohn.

The opposition among theologians, to the truths of Revelation, was at first by no means decided; as a first step we must regard the influence of some theological writers who were not themselves enemies of these truths, but prepared the way for their rejection, and without intending it, forged weapons for those who should come after them. The occasion of this lay in the degraded state of theology

in the beginning of the 18th century. Such men as Calvin Melancthon, Chytræus and many others, were profoundly learned, and knew how to employ their learning in the service of theology without weakening their faith in the doctrines of the Bible : their erudition enlarged their views, without injuring either their faith or piety. But the situation of theology, especially in the Lutheran church, at the period referred to, was exceedingly low ; it consisted in little more, than establishing and illustrating the doctrines of the church ; all the main ideas, in the several departments rested upon tradition ; the study of theology was a work of memory ; few giving themselves the trouble to examine, how far the doctrines they had received from their fathers agreed with the sacred Scriptures. Learning, properly speaking, was not wanting, for such men as Calov and Carpzov among the orthodox, and Rambach and Budeus among the Pietists, may be compared with any of the learned men of the present day, and even excelled them ; it was not learning therefore, but a scientific spirit that was wanting. The situation of profane literature was much the same, for here also was wanting an independent self-formed character : what was received was transmitted. But about the middle of the preceding century, a new spirit was introduced into this department. In philosophy, Wolf and his disciples excited a new and lively interest, which rapidly spread itself over Germany, and at the same time introduced an entirely different method of treating the subject. In history a new æra was formed by Thomasius, and the various translations of English historical works, increased the interest which he had excited. In Philology a new school was formed by Ernesti, Reiske and others, who adopted a method much superior to that pursued by the philologists of Holland. As all these departments, are more or less connected with Theology, it could not fail, that the impulse should be communicated to it. Several dis-

tinguished men appeared at this period, as Baumgarten in Halle, Ernesti in Leipzig, and John David Michælis in Gœttingen, who pursued with ardour, the study of profane literature, and endeavoured to effect a connexion between this literature and theology, and to enrich the latter with the results of the former, and this was the first step to neology.

It is an interesting and important question, whether this connexion of profane literature with theology has a necessary tendency to neology. That in the Lutheran church it obviously had this tendency, cannot be denied. And something of the same kind may be seen in the Reformed Church, especially among the Arminians. But on the other hand, history shows that this is not necessarily the case, Calvin, Melancthon, Chytræus, and Bucerus were profoundly versed in these studies, without manifesting the least tendency to infidelity. Hence it appears that it depends upon the manner of treating the subject, and the way in which profane and sacred literature are united. There is in theology a two-fold element, the one human, the other supernatural, by the one it is connected with every department of human knowledge, and hence an accurate acquaintance with human science must have a salutary influence upon the study of Theology. On the other hand, there is something supernatural, which is to be found in no human science; and which no human science can either explain or illustrate. If therefore the theologian does not know this, by his own living experience; if he be not connected by faith with the invisible world, with him the study of profane literature and its connexion with theology must prove injurious. If a theologian be without faith and without profane literature, as was the case with many of the orthodox party in the Lutheran church, he will deliver Christianity to his successors as he found it, without understanding it himself but a means of blessing to those

who did, as actually occurred among the orthodox. But were he better acquainted with profane literature, he would be led while he retained the earthly part of theology, to endeavour to explain what was supernatural by his profane science; placing human and profane ideas in the place of the divine, and thus his knowledge would prove destructive. This remark is particularly illustrated by the history of Semler. Those therefore, who in the period of which we speak, first connected the study of profane literature with theology, and introduced a scientific spirit into this department, although not avowed enemies to what was supernatural in Christianity, yet knew it not in its depths and thus worked without intending it to remove the very essence of the system.

Baumgarten in Halle, who died 1757, was the first who raised a third party in the Lutheran church. He was sincerely subject to the truths of Christianity, but inordinate in his love of human learning, which produced an injurious effect upon his theological views. He operated upon his students and his contemporaries in giving a new tendency to their minds, partly by the introduction of various English theological works, which were of a superficial character and were more or less deistical. He also introduced many English historical works, especially the "Universal History," by Guthrie and Gray, which excited a desire for the study of profane literature among the theologians of Halle, and partly also by adopting the logical demonstrative method of Wolf, insisting upon the most accurate division and subdivision of every subject; a method which he did not confine to the dogmatic, but applied also to exegesis. He exhorted his students to throw off the trammels of tradition and apply their own understandings. Connected with this however, he chilled their hearts, and softened down the genuine Christian doctrines. It is indeed impossible to present these doctrines in such strict logical

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forms; divine things are in themselves simple, but they can not by speculation and subtle logic be placed in the light, and every effort to express these peculiar ideas in precise forms stifles their spirit. Many of the students of Baumgarten, were led by his method to a cold, intellectual, but lost the inward, knowledge.

Ernesti The influence of John August Ernesti, was far more extensive. He was made professor of Leipzig in 1759. Ernesti was a man of profound and extensive learning; he retained his faith in the divine truths, and was very cautious in all his undertakings. He had already made himself so extensively known by his philological works, that those which he published upon theology excited the greater attention and students flocked from all quarters to attend his lectures. His principal object was to make his philological knowledge useful in exegesis, and he applied the same rules to the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures which he had applied to the classics. His most important work is his 'Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti;' the shortest and most useful compend of Hermeneutics. Before the time of Ernesti, the department of sacred philology had long lain fallow. He was joined in these labours by his colleague, Professor Fischer, who however, went much further. Fischer was the first to apply the new philology to the Lexicography of the New Testament, in his work, 'De vitis-Lexicorum Nov. Testam.' It was already clearly manifested in these works, particularly those of Fischer, how much evil results from the unenlightened connexion of profane literature with theology. The peculiar Christian ideas, were brought more or less to the standard of mere deistical notions; thus ἀναγεννησις was made to mean, emendatio per Religionem Christianam, the doctrine of the πνεῦμα ἅγιον went more or less over to the notion of praiseworthy qualities, obtained by divine assistance. It is easy to see how these ideas lead to neology.

Regeneration was with many, merely a reception into a religious community. The phrase *ἐν εἰς* (as used by Christ in reference to himself and the Father) was explained of a unity of feeling and will.

John David Michælis, who was the third learned man to whom reference has been made, was appointed Professor in Göttingen in 1745, and died in 1791. He was the son of the excellent J. P. Michælis of Halle, where he was educated in the society of the pious professors of the University. But (to use his own words) he was too light minded to give himself up to the pietistical spirit which then reigned in Halle. In Göttingen he freed himself from his early trammels both in respect to doctrine and practice. The principal objects of his attention were, profane history, geography, antiquities, and the oriental languages. He seems not to have had so much religion as Baumgarten or Ernesti, and therefore his manner of treating theology was much more injurious. He did not indeed, deny any essential doctrines, but softened them down, made what was internal merely external, much to the detriment of what constitutes the essence of Christianity. Thus to make the opposition between *πνεῦμα* and *σὰρξ*, nothing more than the opposition between Reason and Sensuality, must necessarily be destructive in its operation, for if this be all, the Christian religion does not differ from the philosophy of Plato. The grounds also upon which he rested the authority of Christianity were superficial; he said that were it not for the miracles and prophecies he would not believe in the Scriptures, and that he had often read the Bible, but never found the *testimonium spiritus sancti*. In his writings we remark a great want of delicacy, which was still more observable in lectures which were sometimes disgraced by downright obscenities. The influence and mode of operation of these three men may be best learnt from the following works: that of Baumgarten, from the autobiogra-

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phy of Semler; that of Ernesti (and also Fischer) from the autobiography of Bahrdt; that of Michaelis from his own life, and from the autobiography of John von Müller, who speaks of the exceedingly improper manner of his lecturing.

Until this period the basis of Christianity, had not been attacked, the main doctrines yet stood firm, although doubts had been here and there excited. The method of treating these subjects was very arbitrary; the manner in which the church had presented the leading doctrines, was laid aside; many of the passages before relied upon in their support were rejected, and the manner of proving them was changed; the arguments being drawn from general deistical principles or profane literature. The most important practical doctrines also were so much explained away, as to lose their nature. The students of these men came out in a spirit essentially different from that of their teachers. Semler was the pupil of Baumgarten, Morus of Ernesti, Koppe and Eichhorn of Michaelis, and by them neology was established. Among these founders of neology the most important, and its real author, is Semler, an original thinker, which is what we rarely meet with among the neologists. Semler had been brought up in Halle in contact with vital piety, where he received impressions, which he could never entirely obliterate, and which in his old age revived. Possessed of a very sanguine temperament and, as he complains himself, lightminded, he renounced entirely the party of the pietists, who it must be admitted, were deficient in learning, and defective in the manner in which they defended their doctrines; and connected himself with Baumgarten. It was not the personal character of Baumgarten, which was dry and logical, which formed the attraction for Semler, but his great learning and his fine library to which he gave his friend free access. Semler under these circumstances acquired extensive erudition, and as his

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master had freed himself from the form at least in which the church presented the Christian doctrines, Semler went further and adopted opinions entirely new. Baumgarten perceiving the creative talents of this sanguine man, said to him, "theology stands in need of a new Reformation, I am too old to undertake the business ; this you must do," and this he did. Semler was first Professor of History in Altdorf, and was thence called as professor of theology to Halle in 1752. With regard to the powers of his mind, it may be said, that they were on the one hand very great, and on the other, very deficient. He had an astonishing memory, and was able at any time, to recall what he had ever learnt. His mind was also acute, when the field of investigation was small, and his imagination active and vivid, which led him easily to form new combinations. But he was deficient in all the qualifications of a Philosopher, as well dialectical, as contemplative, and hence he never formed any system, although he produced a multitude of new thoughts which he neither expanded nor arranged, but cast them out in the greatest disorder. His works are on this account very difficult to read, there is no connexion in the ideas and no logical arrangement. He retained in all his investigations, the fear of God, which, joined with his want of a philosophical spirit, prevented him from seeing whither the principles he adopted naturally led ; and when he saw in others the consequences of the course upon which he had entered, he sincerely repented, that he had gone so far. This led to the firm opposition, which he made to Bahrdf, whose conduct gave him real distress. In his latter days, Semler wished to remedy the evils he had occasioned, and published some very singular views by which he endeavoured to reconcile skepticism and adherence to the doctrines of the church. He said there was a public and private religion for the theologian ; in public he was not authorised to reject any received doc-

trine, but in private he might believe what he pleased. And when the preacher spoke of the "Son of God," it was no harm if one part of his audience, regarded him as really God, another as merely a man, and a third entertained the Arian doctrine. all this was consistent with unity. The revolution which Semler produced, was principally by his exegesis. Ernesti had recommended the principle, that the language and history of the particular period, in which the several sacred books were written, should be applied to their explication. This principle is unquestionably correct, but improperly applied, leads to decided neology. Semler acted upon this principle, and was for explaining every thing from the circumstances of that age, and reducing the general notions of the Bible, to more precise ideas. In this way the leading doctrines of the Scriptures were brought down to mere temporary ideas; and the spirit of the Bible, which should ever attend and give it life, was lost, and it became a book for the age in which it was written. *Σαγξ* and *πνευμα* he explained from the peculiar opinions of that period: *σαγξ* was the narrow notion of the Jews respecting Christianity, against which Paul wrote and contended: *πνευμα* was a free and liberal idea of Christianity.

On this principle he divided the books of the New Testament into those in which the *σαγξ* predominated, and those in which the *πνευμα* prevailed. The gospels were written for the *σαρχικοι*; Paul's Epistles for the *γνωστικοι*; the Catholic Epistles too united both parties, and the Apocalypse for the Fanatics. In this way he must necessarily lose the proper view of the Bible. In the Epistle to the Romans, he overlooked, what is the main point in the whole discussion, justification by grace, in opposition to that by works; according to him, Paul's object was to combat the narrow views of the Jews, who believed that they alone could be saved; whereas, Paul wished to extend salvation

to the Heathen as well as the Jews. It is plain that if these principles of Semler, when applied to the New Testament were so injurious, they must be much more so when applied to the Old. If the Old Testament is to be explained according to the views entertained of it in the age in which it was written, it must lose its most important meaning. Semler did not hesitate to say therefore, that it was useless for Christians: that Jesus laid stress upon it, merely because the Jews thought that they had eternal life therein; but Paul has directly attacked it. Only such parts which, on account of their moral excellence, were still valuable, could be of any use to Christians of the present day. Semler was thus brought by his historical criticism, to precisely the same results as the Popular Philosophy. Semler was particularly learned in the patristical and ecclesiastical history; and most of his writings refer to these departments. His skepticism and want of religious experience, are here also clearly displayed. In the history of the Christian doctrines, he could not distinguish the true from the false; and thought every thing was full of contradictions, because he was not able to see the ground of coincidence. His want of religious feeling led him also to condemn Augustin and justify Pelagius, and his view on this subject became every day more general.

There arose a man by the side of Semler, in Halle, who not only united the various scattered neological doubts which he had cast out, but connected with them many of his own arbitrary yet destructive opinions. A man who attacked not only the doctrines of the church, but those of the Bible; and whose life was as injurious as his writings. This was the famous Dr. Bahrdt. His father, a Professor of theology in Leipzig, was a strictly orthodox man. The son manifested from the first, a great degree of light-mindedness, which his father did not properly attempt to correct. He rather sought to conceal, than eradicate the faults of

his son. His education, therefore, produced a very bad effect upon his mind ; observing on the one hand, such strict orthodox principles ; and, on the other, such a laxity of practice, he got the idea that orthodoxy was altogether an affair of the head, and that the heart was governed by entirely different principles. He was early *Privat Docent* and preacher in Leipzig ; but his gross misconduct and licentiousness forced him to resign his office to avoid deposition. He retired to Erfurt where he was made Professor, and continued his abandoned mode of life ; thence he removed to Giessen, and from thence to Maschlitz to an institution of Herr von Salis. Thence he went to Türkheim in the territory of the Count of Leiningen, where he was made General Superintendent. It was here he published his New Testament, under the title "Newest Revelation of God," 1779. In his translation, he endeavoured to give a new fashioned dress to every thing ; and introduced all the personages speaking and acting, as though they had been Saxons or Prussians living in the year 1779. In his interpretations, whatever was most perverse and unnatural, was sure to be adopted as true. This book produced such a sensation that an imperial order was issued from Vienna, condemning the work, and urging that the author should be displaced. The count of Leiningen consented, and Bahrdt was obliged to remove. He went now to the land of illumination, to Prussia, and applied to the Minister, Von Zedlitz, for employment, who was very willing to secure him a situation. Bahrdt came to Halle, and would probably have been made professor, had not the faculty objected. Semler was particularly active in this affair ; making the manner of Bahrdt's life, the ground of his opposition to his appointment. The minister, therefore, only allowed him to read lectures in the Philosophical Faculty. He accordingly announced that he would lecture on rhetoric and declamation ; but let it privately be known, that he really

meant to read on Pastoral theology. It is said that 900 persons were assembled in the great auditorium of the university to hear him. His manner was that of a charlatan; he endeavoured to show how the feelings of an audience could be excited; and sought to make the manner of preaching usually adopted ridiculous. These lectures, however, did not bring him in enough money, which was his principal object. The poor man therefore, proposed to read a course of lectures on morals, which citizens as well as students might attend. He succeeded in obtaining a considerable number of hearers—students, citizens, and officers; and endeavoured to exercise his theatrical talents upon this mixed audience. But he soon found this activity too troublesome and too little productive, and, therefore, retired to a farm in the neighbourhood of Halle, and opened a coffee-house, “a course,” he said, “his health demanded.” Before his death, he was cast into prison in Magdeburg, on account of a comedy which he wrote against the government. He sought by all manner of lies to avoid arrest, but in vain, and died in 1792. With regard to the views of this man we may say, as we said regarding those of Voltaire, that his character renders them undeserving of regard. Even his own description of himself is sufficient to show that he was destitute of principle; but this was made still more apparent by the publication of a collection of his letters. All kinds of deceit were to him equal if he could but gain money. His talents were such, as had they been turned to a good account, might have been made really serviceable; he had particularly the talent of writing in a clear, and easy style, and a creative fancy. His views gradually formed themselves; he said, that when he came to Halle, he had renounced all doctrines contrary to reason, excepting those of inspiration and of divine influence. How he came to discover that these also were unreasonable, he thus describes: “The historical arguments of Semler, and the

philosophical reasoning of Eberhardt had made a great impression on me ; it only failed to bring my feelings to reject these doctrines ; this was effected by my being laughed at, for holding them ; this touched my pride, and I let them go as contrary to reason." He still retained the doctrine of God's existence and the immortal soul. The contents of his writings, so far as they are his own, are of a romantic extravagant character ; he endeavours in every way to represent every thing of a miraculous nature recorded in the Bible, as mere natural occurrences. His works, however, from the novel-like style in which they were written, were extensively circulated and read.

The university-theologians of this period after Semler came out, divided themselves into three classes : Some few remained orthodox ; others sought to retain the form of the Bible doctrines, but soften down the leading ideas ; representing them as unimportant, and turning their chief attention upon the moral portions of the Scriptures : some particular doctrines of the Bible :—few new ideas were advanced by either party. Of those who belonged to the second class we may mention the following as the most distinguished. Noesselt in Halle, died 1807. He had formed himself principally upon the writings of the English theologians ; and hence received the tendency, not to attack openly the doctrines of Christianity, but rather to present them in a softer light. In the early part of his life, he had defended these doctrines, in his *Apologie*, but as his faith grew weaker, in the last edition he only published the first part of the work, which contains the general defence of Christianity, feeling no longer any disposition to undertake the defence of the several doctrines.

Morus, successor to Ernesti in Leipzig from the year 1775, died 1792. He also, never decidedly attacked the Christian doctrines ; but he endeavoured to show that it was very difficult to establish the details of any of these

doctrines, upon a sure basis ; and that, therefore, we need only hold to that which promotes moral improvement. Many of his students, however, rejected the doctrines themselves, of their own accord.

Of those belonging to the third class are : 1. Eichhorn in Goettingen. He published his "Introduction to the Old Testament," 1780 ; his "Universal Library for Biblical Literature," 1787 ; his "Introduction to the New Testament," 1804. He carried the principles of Semler fully out, and renounced entirely the orthodox faith. He treated Judaism as a mere human institution, which was no more under the direction of Providence, than all other religions are. Christianity also was a mere local appearance, and all the distinguishing Christian ideas were explained away. He particularly manifested his bold and reckless criticism in his work on the Old Testament.

2. Steinhart of the University of Frankfort on the Oder. Died 1809. He published a work against what he called the "Language of the Schools," by which, however, he understood the doctrines respecting faith, good works, conversion, &c. His principal work is his "System of pure philosophy and happiness," 1768. He proceeds upon the plan to which we alluded when speaking of the English theologians ; of attempting to reconcile Christianity and natural religion. It is hardly necessary to say, that this was to be effected by bringing the former down to the standard of the latter. He first advanced the idea, in Germany, that there is nothing in Christianity above the reach of reason. In this work, Christ is represented as a mere man ; the doctrines of original sin and atonement, as the vain notions of Augustin. 3. The Abbot Henke, of the University of Helmstadt. He obtained extensive influence, as well by the periodical works, which he conducted, as by his "Ecclesiastical History." The titles of the former are, "Magazine for Religion and Philosophy,"

1793-1802. "Magazine for Exegesis and Ecclesiastical History," 6 vols. "Archiv für Modern Ecclesiastical History," and "Eusebea."

4. Gabler, who was a pupil of Eichhorn, was at first settled in Altdorf and afterwards in Jena. His influence was principally maintained by his "New Theological Journal," 1798-1801.

5. Paulus in Heidelberg, whose "Commentary on the New Testament," has been circulated in two large editions. The evil which this work has produced has not arisen so much from the expositions which he gives, for these are so forced and unnatural, that every one can see they are false, as from the low spirit which reigns throughout the work; by which every thing exalted and divine, is reduced to the level of every day occurrences. Paulus published his "Memorabilia," from 1787-1796.

Besides these learned men belonging to the Universities many pastors took part in the work of reforming theology, and obtained an extensive influence. There were particularly many preachers and philosophers in Berlin, whose efficiency in this enterprise, deserves remark. Berlin was at this time the chief seat of the popular philosophers, Mendelssohn, Engel, Sulzer, Nicolai, and others; whose works were every where read and admired: these gentlemen stood in intimate connexion with the then famous preachers Spalding and Teller. There was, indeed, a secret society formed in Berlin, of which not only these philosophers, but also several preachers were members. It was called the "Society for Light and Illumination;" although it had another name taken from the day of the week on which it held its meetings. The author of this society was the Librarian, Biester, whose object was to introduce a new system of religion. Their proceedings, however, were kept in profound secrecy. Spalding and Teller conducted themselves with great caution and prudence; they wished

gradually to prostrate all the positive doctrines of religion, and, therefore, those who came out too boldly and pushed on the work too rapidly were checked and kept within more moderate bounds. They endeavoured to effect their object by making morality the great point ; and representing the positive doctrines as of less importance. They substituted new ideas, general deistical notions, in the place of the true biblical ideas, extracting the nerve and essence of the latter. Thus Spalding opposing the doctrine of immediate divine influence ; exchanged the important doctrine of the operations of the Holy Spirit, with the dry notion of moral effort for improvement, under the aid of God's Providence. He and Teller both opposed the use of what they called the figurative language of the east, and, therefore, proposed to substitute, for regeneration, the purpose of leading a new life ; for sanctification, reformation ; for being filled with the Holy Spirit, to live reasonably, &c. Spalding's influence, through his works "Worth of the feelings in Religion," and the "Usefulness of the office of a Minister," was very great.

Teller's Dictionary of the New Testament which has passed through six editions, contains every where, these mere moral ideas, in the place of the true Christian doctrines. Christianity was to be more and more explained away until it ceased to be a doctrinal system, altogether, and became a mere code of morals ; men should constantly become more intellectual in their religion ; a course in which they could not advance too far, but should not advance too rapidly. We have yet to mention two other clergymen, viz. Lœffler from the year 1785 General Superintendent in Gotha. He published the work of Souveren on the Platonism of the Fathers, and in the discourse which he affixed to it, opposed the doctrines of the Deity of Christ, and the atonement ; and Besedow, a zealot in the cause of illumination. He adopted a system of education which

was a flat imitation of that proposed by Rousseau. He did not wish to be regarded as a decided enemy of the positive doctrines of Christianity, but as only desiring to render them agreeable to skeptics. He found thirty-two errors in Christianity, such as the doctrine of the Trinity, the influences of the Holy Spirit, the two-fold nature of Christ, &c. &c.

The Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist. There was for a long time a debate, who the author of this work really was, but Samuel Reinmarus Professor in Hamburg, acknowledging himself as the author, on his death-bed, has set the matter at rest. He sent the several papers to Lessing, by whom they were published. The first Fragment, was on the toleration of deists, then followed five on the Old Testament, then those on the Resurrection of Christ, the possibility of a Revelation, and the most shameful of all, that on the object of Christ and his apostles. The author says, Christ wishes to establish an earthly kingdom, but failing in his enterprise made the despairing exclamation on the Cross. Every thing which this author wrote is marked by the most decided spirit of infidelity, which he feared however fully to declare. His arguments therefore are not those of a calm investigator, but of a passionate enemy. He was entirely deficient in the true historical spirit, though in other respects not wanting in talents. Riem, a preacher in Berlin in 1782, but died in Paris 1795 on the theatre of the revolution. He was a fanatical enemy of revealed Religion which he manifested in an open and profane manner in his "Religion of the Children of Light," Berlin 1789, and in his "Christ and Reason," Brunswick 1792.

Among all these authors, with the exception of Semler, there is not one who produced any thing new; we have now, however, to mention two men, who in connexion with Semler, hold the most important rank in the History of this period. The first of these is Lessing, born 1729.

He was originally designed by his father for theology, and for this purpose was sent to Leipzig, to pursue his studies; but taking no interest in the lectures there delivered, he devoted himself to *Belles Lettres*. He lived privately in Berlin until 1769, then acted as Director of the theatre for some time in Hamburg, and thence removed to Wolfenbüttel as Librarian. Theology was not his profession, but his attention was directed to various subjects, and among others to this. He examined the various systems both of philosophy and theology, but his mind found contentment nowhere, the doctrines of Spinoza were most to his taste. He was far too skeptical to admit of his believing in revelation, and too much devoted to pleasure, to be capable of a moral investigation: a life of pleasure, he said, was better than a holy end. Yet he had too much head and too much heart, not to see and feel, that real practical Christianity was far more worthy of respect, and far more elevating than the theological systems. Although he had no experience, he was able to respect it, which gives importance to what he says. His most important works are, 1. the *Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist* of which he was the publisher. His object was to perplex and drive into a corner the orthodox theologians, who were proud of their systems. But he said he should be sorry to have thought, that he had published this work out of enmity to Christianity. The learned theologian might be troubled by it, but not the Christian; the former might be perplexed in seeing his props of Christianity thus shattered, but who has the Christian to do with the hypothesis, and the arguments of the theologian? the Christianity in which he feels himself so happy is still there.

2. His smaller theological Discourses contained in the 7th vol. of his works. In one of these he defends deism in the following manner:

The Christian religion, he said, was the religion which Christ possessed, and this every man should endeavour to attain, although it is difficult to state precisely what it is. He assumed a natural religion, in the same sense, in which we speak of natural rights, but when men come together they must endeavour to agree upon certain points, and thus arises a positive religion in the same way as positive rights. His discourse also on the Moravians is worthy of remark, in which the warm piety of this sect, is cordially approved and defended against the objections of the orthodox. Also his discourse "Christianity and Reason" in which Christianity is explained by pantheism.

3. "His work on the Education of the Human Race." This although a small work, is rich in matter. It admits of a two-fold interpretation, in one view it seems to be a refutation of neology, but in another it is an attack on all revealed religion, and an apology for pantheism.

It was then common to urge against Judaism these two objections: first, that it was too particular and confined; and secondly, that it did not contain the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. These objections Lessing answers in a masterly manner, although not altogether on principles which a Christian can adopt. "Judaism," he says, "is to be justified on the ground of God's condescension to human weakness. If God wished to lead men in the way of truth, it was necessary that he should place them under a course of education which implies gradual instruction; and it was always necessary that this course should be restricted to a single and secluded people that the difference between them and others might be apparent. He further remarks, that if Christianity contains the results to which reason leads, it is no proof that it is not a revelation; as in the arithmetic for children, the result is stated before the investigation commences. Under these views, however, lies hid a pantheistical system. "The "Collections of Frederick Schlegel,"

contains "Lessing's Thoughts and Opinions;" Leipzig 1804, 3 vols. From this work we give the following leading ideas: He endeavours to show, that it was by no means to the advantage of Christianity, that the Popular Philosophers had reduced it down to the standard of Natural religion, in order to make it acceptable to skeptics. "Formerly," as he remarks, "there was a distinction between theology and philosophy, and each could pursue their course undisturbed: but the philosophers break down the separating wall; and, under pretence of making us reasonable Christians, make us unreasonable philosophers." Leibnitz, he says, was of the opinion, that only to believe Christianity on the ground of reason, was not to believe it at all; and, that the only book which, in the proper sense of the words, ever has, or ever can, be written on the truths of the Bible, is the Bible itself. Lessing, therefore, properly remarks, that it is the province of reason to decide whether the Bible be a revelation or not; but if this be settled in the affirmative, its containing things which we cannot understand, is rather a proof for, than against it. Another of his remarks, equally well founded, is, that faith in the truths of revelation is not to be obtained by the separate examination of these several distinct points, historical and doctrinal;—that no one ever would become a believer in Christianity, if he endeavoured to make every fact and every doctrine certain beyond dispute, before he adopted it as a revelation. So far from this, they only can admit the several points, to whom the holy contents of the entire gospel has commended itself as truth which sheds light upon all the particulars. In this he agrees with Lord Bacon, who compares the defenders of Christianity who act upon the principle referred to, to those who place a candle in every corner of a large hall, instead of hanging a large chandelier in the middle of it, which would shed its light to the darkest recesses. Lessing expresses the same idea in another

form, when he compares the Christian to the confident victor, who, disregarding the frontier fortifications of a land, seizes hold of the country itself ; while the theologian is like a timid soldier, who wastes his strength in the boundary, and never sees the land.

The other individual whom we mentioned as ranking with Semler, was Herder, born in Morungen in East Prussia, 1741. Herder was educated under the care of Christian parents, and by a pious clergyman, whose name was Trescho. The impressions made by his early education he never lost ; he always endeavoured to defend what had in his youth appeared to him as true and holy. As imagination and feeling were the leading characteristics of his mind, his views of Christianity were rather of a sentimental cast, his knowledge of it was not deep and practical. The austerity of his teacher conspired to render the manner in which he regarded the subject unpleasant to Herder's feelings. In his attendance on the university, he devoted himself particularly to classical literature and belles lettres, with which he connected the study of theology. When we consider the effect of these studies, in connexion with what we have said of his disposition and his early education, we shall be able to explain his future course. His early impressions determined him from the first, to appear as the defender of Christianity, which he really wished to be. But as he was not fully acquainted with what practical Christianity really was ; and as he had received a prejudice against austerity, and as the belles lettres had fastened on his affections, his defence never proceeded upon the principles on which our religion either can, or should be, defended. He did not represent Christianity as the only means of salvation, for men sunk in sin and misery ; not as the narrow path in which men must walk to secure eternal life ; but he endeavoured to recommend it for its beauty and amiability ; to present the Scriptures in an attractive light

as "belles lettres" productions: to recommend the sacred personages of the Bible for their moral loveliness. Such a justification as this can never be of much avail. Amidst all the temptations of life, and the difficulties with which our faith is assaulted, we must have some better foundation than this. And Herder is himself an example, how little a faith resting on such grounds can affect the life.

He was called as General Superintendent to Weimar, where he was brought into connexion with the first authors of Germany, and he himself praised and caressed as one of her best poets. The various temptations to vanity and worldly enjoyments, by which he was surrounded, he was unable to withstand. He endeavoured to become less and less offensive to the world, whilst he retained his character as defender of Christianity. But though apparently its defender, he gradually relinquished all its doctrines, by representing all definite ideas upon them as doubtful. Every thing was merged in a magic obscurity, over which he could poeticise at pleasure; but left his readers entirely at a loss to determine what was to be retained and what rejected. Hence Garve said, "his writings were like a distant cloud, which no man could tell, whether it was merely a cloud, or a city involved in obscurity yet filled with inhabitants. In his early writings there is much that is useful, much good feeling, and many correct views. To this class belongs his "Oldest Records of the Human Race," his "Letters on the study of Theology," and his "Remarks on the New Testament, from a newly opened oriental source." His later works on "the Redeemer," and "the Resurrection of Christ," have more or less of the character of obscurity of which we have spoken; in reality they are neological. Of his "Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Man." John Von Müller says, "I find every thing there but Christ, and what is the history of the world without CHRIST."

SECTION VII.

On the Influence of the New Philosophy.

The philosophy which prevailed until the latter half of the last century, had pretended to be able to present a regular mathematical demonstration, on all the subjects of which it treated. This philosophy of Wolf, although professing to defend Christianity, had been the means of exciting in many minds the spirit of skepticism. Many profound thinkers, striving in a wrong way to attain a knowledge of the truth, were at last brought to the conviction that this knowledge was unattainable. Besides this, Wolf had separated so completely Natural and Revealed Religion, that many of the advocates of his system contented themselves with the former ; and this gave rise to what is called the Popular Philosophy.

In the former part of the latter half of the 18th century therefore, the philosophers were divided into those who thought they could demonstrate all the truths of natural and revealed religion, and those who had separated some few leading doctrines which they thought were alone susceptible of demonstration. But a great revolution was at hand ; the philosophy of Kant appeared in decided opposition to every thing which had previously passed under that name. Kant was excited by the skepticism of Hume, to investigate the ability of the human powers to attain to a knowledge of invisible things. This was something new, for the German philosophers had been accustomed to speculate, with inquiring whether reason was adequate to the discovery of the truth. The result of Kant's investigations, was, that man was entirely incompetent to the task of attaining to a knowledge of invisible things, and that the demonstrations of Wolf amounted to nothing. He was

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not, however, willing entirely to give up metaphysics, and as he could not found a system on demonstration, he attempted to erect one on postula of practical reason. The hinge upon which his system turns ; is the *categorical imperative* in man, that is, the consciousness that we should be and do what the moral law requires. This *categorical imperative* cannot be denied as every man carries it in his own bosom. But if this be not self-contradictory, impelling us to an object which does not exist or which cannot be attained, there must be a metaphysics which contains these three truths, the existence of God, the liberty of man, and the immortality of the soul. For if this *imperative* be not deceitful, man must have the power of realizing the object to which it impels, and this is his liberty. But the excellence to which it urges us, is in this world never fully attained, there must, therefore, be a future state in which it may be completely realized. There must also be a governor, who has this excellence in himself, and who can distribute rewards in proportion to virtue, hence a God. Within these limits, and to explain and illustrate these three truths, Kant confined the whole of metaphysics. With regard to this system, it may be remarked that its negative part contains more truth, than its positive portion. He is right in denying the possibility of reason, attaining a knowledge of the infinite ; that there is a gulf here over which no bridge can be built ; it must be leapt. He should therefore have been led to acknowledge a revelation, which the Christians of that day expected he would do. How this necessarily follows from his principles, is proved in a work entitled "Immanuel a book for Jews and Christians" written by a distinguished statesman. In reference to the positive part, what is new therein is not true, and what is true is not new. The truth is, that the moral feelings of man will, amidst all his doubts urge him to believe in another world, but the peculiar form in which Kant sought to present this

subject is false. His argument is, that if this *imperative* be not self-contradictory there must be a God, human liberty, and immortality; but this *imperative* is not false, therefore these three truths must be admitted. But in this argument, there is a *petitio principii*. It takes for granted, that the world is created and exists, for a definite object. But this the most consequent philosophical systems deny. They say the idea of an object, is a gross anthropomorphism, that he who proposes an end to himself, must employ means to attain that end, but this implies that the end cannot be *immediately* attained, and therefore that the being who proposes to himself an end or object must be imperfect, in the world therefore no such striving after an end can be admitted, but the working of an absolute necessity. When Kant therefore takes for granted, that the world has an object, he assumes, what was to be proved, the existence of an intelligent personal deity. The form of his argument is hence false. It may further be remarked, that according to Kant's system, these three important doctrines, are made very subordinate, in that they are admitted, not on the ground of their own evidence, but upon the ground of this *categorical imperative*. In this view man becomes a law to himself. God only distributes the amount of happiness which has been merited. Holiness is also presented in a very subordinate light, because according to this manner of conceiving of it, it must receive its happiness from without, which is a false idea of the subject, against which even Socrates, had opposed himself, this is the most deficient point in the system. With regard to the effects produced by the philosophy of Kant, it may be remarked, that they were both salutary and injurious. It prostrated the pride of those who pretended to be able to demonstrate every thing, and it aroused the mind from the drowsiness which had been produced by the Popular Philosophy. Its evil effects were, that a cold frigid spirit was thrown over its

advocates, who employed themselves about dry morality and barren intellect, rejecting all deep feeling as fanaticism; even prayer itself was rejected. Hence all the sciences to which this philosophy extended its influence, lost their vitality, and assumed a pedantic, scholastic, schoolmaster-like aspect. This was especially the case with theology and history. They were only estimated so far, as they solved the problem of the Kantish morals, what was individual and characteristic was not regarded. Christ himself was estimated only for having taught a system of morals analogous to those of Kant. This philosophy spread itself more rapidly than any had ever done before it. Among the theologians its defenders were Staüdlin, Schmidt, and Tieftrunk, although the former at last gave it up. Even those who did not formally adopt the system, were obliged to conform themselves to it, as was the case with the Popular Philosophers in Berlin, Nicolai, Garve, and Mendelssohn, they complained much, that the new philosophy had occasioned so much trouble and difficulty, where every thing was quite clear before. Reinhard although he did not embrace the system of Kant, allowed himself to be so far influenced by it as to introduce many of his principles, in his system of morals. All men however of much feeling, opposed a philosophy which was so dry and scholastic; of this number were particularly Hamann and Herder,—see Kant's "Religion within the limits of pure Reason" and Tieftrunk's "Censure of the doctrines of the Protestant church."

Another crisis in the history of philosophy was at hand. The system which Kant had erected, was destroyed by one of his own pupils (Fichte.) Fichte followed a different path from that pursued by his predecessor. Kant had shown that man was not able to attain to a distinct knowledge of sensible things, that the predicates which we attribute to things arise only from the categories of our own minds.

but what it is without us, which occasions the perception of these attributes or predicates we can not know ; it is an unknown power, X. But Fichte proposed the question, that if we know nothing of the essence of things, if they be an unknown X, and their predicates, categories of our own minds, what evidence have we that the things themselves exist? what are they? and how can they come in contact with our minds? His conclusion is, that the external world, the X of Kant has no existence; the qualities alone exist, and these merely as laws of the human mind. The material world is nothing, there is nothing out of ourselves, it is only from the laws of the mind that the world appears to exist. We thus attain an object which all philosophy aims at, the removal of the difference between matter and spirit, as in this view there is no such thing as matter. Fichte's view of the human soul was the following: God the infinite *ens* comes to *existens*, in that he *exists* in the activity of finite thinking spirits, the activity or *thinking* of these finite thinking principles, is the existence of the infinite *ens*. Whence come then the external appearances? If the finite thinking principle was confined entirely within itself, it would merge in the infinite, and become nothing. That this *principle* should have reality and life, it is necessary that it should have an object within itself; hence the infinite thinking principle when it comes to existence, in the finite, places at the same time with the finite thinking principle, a limitation; therefore, this limitation is the apparently existing material world; and hence with every *ego*, there is placed a *non-ego*. The activity and life of every finite thinking principle, of every *ego*, consists in breaking through this limitation. This occurs in a two-fold manner, first when the human spirit, pervades and thinks through the objects opposed it, so that they pass over into the spirit and become one with it, and secondly, when the thinking principle raises itself above all laws of the

non ego, and lives free according to its own laws. This system of Fichte was more consequent than that of Kant, but it failed to solve the problem ; the removal of the difference of matter and spirit ; dualism remains in this system as well as in the other. The problem is indeed apparently solved by denying the existence of matter, but the opposition is only removed to the mind itself, where a limitation is placed. This philosophy is in one view a very active living one, but its life is only abstract ; as it concerns itself only with abstract thinking, and neglects every other department and faculty of the soul. Its influence was so far beneficial, as it excited, in many, a great degree of mental activity, and in others produced great moral strictness. The evils which it produced were also great. All the material sciences were despised, and importance attributed only to abstract speculations. A degree of freedom also was ascribed to men, which belongs only to God, which excited the greatest self-sufficiency. The most important works on this system are Fichte's "Appeal to the public on the charge made against him of atheism," Jena, 1801. "Instructions for a happy life," Berlin, 1806. In these writings, this philosophy came into more immediate contact with religion, see also "An exhibition of the true character of the nature-philosophy for the improvement of the doctrines of Fichte," Tübingen, 1806.

Schelling followed Fichte, he proposed for his object the actual removing of all opposition between matter and spirit; according to his system, an existence is ascribed as much to the material as the immaterial world ; the former being only a different mode of expression or manifestation. The spirit which thinks through these material objects, frees them from their bonds, by freeing the spirit which is in them. In so far however, as the laws of matter are the expressions of the spirit, the latter only finds itself again when it thinks through the matter and appropriates it to

itself. The only object therefore of speculation on the external world, is to come to a full knowledge or consciousness of ourselves; that is, to find without us what we have in ourselves. According to these views, God cannot be regarded as a mere *ên*, since this would be lifeless. If God be living he must have an opposition in himself, the removal of which is his life. Hence the unity of God has ever manifested itself in multitude and variety. The spirit manifested itself in matter, that the variety may reach the unity, and matter be freed and raised to spirit. This is the eternal activity of God. The whole business of philosophy is concerned with this point, the coming of God to self-consciousness.

This philosophy had the effect of spreading through Germany an element different from any which had previously prevailed. It produced a deep feeling and consciousness of a living and infinite principle in the world and in men, in nature and in spirit. It destroyed the lifeless idea of a God, who stood behind the world without having any real unity with it. It aroused men to strive after knowledge, in a deeper and more effectual manner; because it did not employ itself with abstract speculations, but with intuitive views, in this respect it greatly exceeded the Popular Philosophy, or that of Wolf or Kant. Its influence on theology therefore was very great, whilst the Popular Philosophy and that of Kant sought to expunge every thing above the reach of reason, that of Schelling again awakened the feelings for the infinite. Schelling's philosophical works were published together in 1809, including the *Treatise on Human Liberty*; see also *Bruns on the Principle of Divine and Human things*, Berlin, 1802. *Philosophy and Religion*, Tübingen 1804. A monument to the work of Jacobi on Divine things, Tübingen 1812. Controversial works on this subject—*Susskind's Examination of the doctrine of Schelling respecting God, the Creation*

and Liberty, 1812. Jacobi on Divine things and their Revelation, 1811.

These two philosophers were opposed by a man whose influence was not only great during his life but continues to the present time. This was Frederick Henry Jacobi. He opposed the speculations of Kant as well as those of Fichte and Schelling, he admitted with regard to the latter two, that they were consequent, as well as Spinoza, but the result he could not embrace. He could not prevail on himself to renounce his faith, in human liberty, a personal God, personal immortality, and the objective nature of evil.

He, therefore, opposed to these systems, the inward consciousness we have of divine things, and maintained it was impossible, by speculation, to arrive at a knowledge of these subjects; there must be an immediate and intuitive knowledge of them, whether this intuitive perception be called reason or consciousness. This intuitive feeling teaches us, that there is a God; who stands as *thou* before our *ego*—something different from man. It teaches also the liberty of man; personal immortality and the objective nature of evil. Whilst Jacobi presented these views, he appeared at the same time in hostility against revealed religion. He said, that historical experience was as much mediate as speculation, and, therefore, history was as unfit as speculation to afford a true knowledge of divine things. Man cannot believe in an eternal free God, by merely hearing a relation concerning him; the ground of this faith must, therefore, lie in the soul itself. These views are principally expressed in the introduction to his work on divine things; in which he appears as the opponent of Claudius.

Jacobi overlooked two important points: first he did not consider that it might be asked him, where faith in his four doctrines, is to be found beyond the limits of Christianity? The whole east is destitute of it—the western philosophy knows

as little about it : only weak echoings of this truth are any where to be heard. Only a few individuals among the most cultivated of mankind, have had an indistinct knowledge of them in any period of the world. Jacobi himself, borrowed them from historical Christianity, though he was ungrateful enough to deny his obligation. He cannot express himself upon this subject, except in terms borrowed from the Bible. It cannot, indeed, be said, that we believe these truths merely because they have been historically communicated to us, but because we are related to God ; and this relation, even in our present fallen state is not entirely destroyed, although the fall has blinded and obscured our knowledge ; tradition alone, therefore, is not the foundation of our faith, but this feeling of our relation to God. We find no where beyond the influence of the gospel, the humble temper of a servant represented as the ideal of morality. We find no such character as that of the humble Redeemer ; we never meet the idea that true greatness consists in poverty of spirit. However strongly a man may believe on the ground of his own consciousness, yet he must admit if God had not revealed himself we should never have arrived at a knowledge of true happiness, and that a revelation was necessary to render these doctrines definite and secure. But Christianity contains something more than these four truths of Jacobi ; it contains the plan of redemption : a knowledge of the purposes of God cannot be obtained by intuition, yet here is faith essential. Even admitting, therefore the possibility of learning the truths referred to, from a different source, it does not destroy the necessity of a historical revelation. See the works of Jacobi published by Fleischer, particularly the second volume of his work on "Divine Things."

After philosophy, in connexion with various other causes, had exercised such an influence on theology, a theological system was formed, as the result of all these efforts at illu-

mination. To this system the name of rationalism has been given; a name first applied by Reinhard. The system is, in fact, the same which was previously called deism. This system not only sought to obtain stability for itself, but appeared in decided hostility to Christianity. As to its tenability, it may be remarked, that the rationalist must either undertake to support his doctrines on the ground of reason and argument, or found them upon feeling. If he takes the first course, he must do it after the method of the philosophy of Wolf; for that alone undertakes to establish in a demonstrative way the doctrines of God, freedom and immortality. But the weakness of this philosophy has long since been proved. If the rationalist gives this up, he must place himself on the foundation of feeling on the principle of Jacobi; and this is the fact with the most of them. When he takes this ground, he loses all right to contend against a believer in the Bible. For he can no longer demand of him, that doctrines which are beyond the reach of reason, should be reduced to its standard and justified before its tribunal. The rationalist must acknowledge, that he cannot do this, for his own doctrines, of the personality of God, human liberty, &c. With the same weapons, therefore, with which he contends against the believer he is attacked by the pantheist, against whom he cannot maintain his ground. The pantheist declares his proofs mere subjective deception, and his doctrines anthropomorphish views. The believer in the Bible, can also object to the rationalist, that his deistical doctrines are drawn from Christianity, although deprived of their glory and power. And further, that his system, excluding the ideas of a revelation, divine government, and redemption, presents a problem which does not admit of solution. The idea of God which rationalism contains, is borrowed from the Bible; but if God really possesses all the attributes here ascribed to him, it would appear necessary that so wise and

good a Being should have a nearer relation to his creatures, and give them some surer guide, in reference to divine things, than human reason; which teaches so many various and inconsistent doctrines, and which beyond the limits of Christianity, has never yet presented the idea of God which Christian deism contains. The rationalist acknowledges the objective nature of morality; but for his certainty on this point he is indebted to revelation, and yet arbitrarily rejects the doctrines of the fall and of redemption through Jesus Christ. In this way he is led into another difficulty: Whence is evil? the rationalist is obliged to refer it to God, that through the struggle between good and evil, the former might be promoted. Whilst the denier of a revelation makes God the author of evil, he gives no explanation of the manner in which evil can be rooted out of the heart of man. His blindness on this point arises from his having no deep and proper knowledge of good or evil. The positive part of rationalism thus consisting of Christian doctrines deprived of their glory and consistency, is equally unsatisfactory for the human heart and human understanding, particularly in reference to the doctrine of evil.

The Rationalist undertakes however, to prove, not only that Christianity is improbable, but that it is contrary to reason and entirely inadmissible. In this effort its weakness is most clearly exposed. It proceeds upon the principle, that God never works without the intervention of secondary causes, and therefore an immediate revelation is impossible. Revelation can only be mediate, and consist in a developement of what already lies in the nature of man. Hence arises the distinction between naturalism and supernaturalism. The former regarding every religious communication as mediate, consisting in the developement of what is in man, the latter maintaining an immediate communication of divine truth, not derive from the human

mind itself. The rationalist assumes, that God at the beginning, formed the world as a machine, with whose powers, having once set them in motion, he never interferes. This view is in the first place false, but admitting its correctness, the conclusion drawn from it by the rationalist, is by no means, necessary. For granting that God does not interfere with the world, it does not follow that he cannot and will not. At most the improbability, but not the impossibility, of an immediate revelation follows from this view.

But the view itself is false ; God is not a mechanist who having finished his work retires behind : the life in the universe cannot be regarded as absolutely distinct from the life of God. God continues and supports the world by a continual creation, for such in fact is preservation. The life of the world is the breath of Jehovah ; its active powers, the working of his omnipresence ; the laws of nature are not therefore fixed once and forever. Augustin says, *Lex naturæ is voluntas dei, et miraculum non fit contra naturam, sed contra quam est nota natura.* The laws of nature are mere abstractions, which men make from the usual operations of God. It can therefore by no means, be said, that his unusual operations, as in immediate revelations and miracles, are violations of the laws of nature. There is no essential difference between immediate and mediate operations, it is merely the difference between unusual and usual. And if God would reveal himself as a living and personal Being, these extraordinary operations of his power are essential, as they contain the proof that nature is not a piece of dead mechanism.

But the rationalist also endeavours to show the improbability of a revelation upon moral principles. He says, it would prove that God had made man imperfect, if later communications and revelations were necessary. But in this objection it is overlooked that man is not now,

as he was originally created. In his primitive state, an immediate revelation might not have been necessary, but in his fallen state, the case is essentially different. The rationalist further demands, why was the revelation not made immediately after the fall, before so many generations had passed away? To this we may answer, that God appears to have determined to conduct and educate the whole race as an individual, and in the idea of education, lies that of gradual progress.

Finally it is objected that the revelation is not universal. In answer to this we may say, that the difficulty presses the deist as much as the Christian, because it affects the doctrine of Providence. The deist makes religion and refinement the greatest blessings of men, but why has God left so many ages and nations destitute of these blessings? If the deist must confess his ignorance upon this point, why may not the Christian? Besides this, Christians themselves are to blame, that the Revelation has not been more extensively spread, why have they only within a few years awoken to the importance of this work? And why do the rationalists of all others, take the least interest in it? It may further be remarked, that the New Testament does not teach, that those who have never heard the Gospel, are (on this account) to be condemned. The apostle says, that God winked at the times of ignorance, that those who sin without law, shall be judged without law. And it may be hoped that as Christ is the only means of salvation, that those, who have not heard the Gospel here, may hear it hereafter. Peter says, that the Saviour communicated the knowledge of his redemption, to those who had died before his appearance.

See in answer to Rœhr's Letters on Rationalism, Zœllich's Lettres on Supernaturalism, 1821; and, see Tittmann on Naturalismus, Supernaturalismus, and Atheismus, Leipzig, 1816.

Bockshammer's Revelation and Theology, Stuttgart, 1820.

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Gleanings.

- I. On the Recent Elucidations of early Egyptian History. From *The Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature, and Art.* New Series No. III.

Since the commencement of the present century, the researches of philologists have ascertained that the language of ancient Egypt—the language of the hieroglyphical inscriptions engraven on its ancient temples and monuments, and of the still existing manuscripts of the same period,—differs from the modern Egyptian or Coptic, only in the mixture in the latter of many Greek and Arabian and a smaller portion of Latin words, introduced during the successive dominion of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabs, and occasionally substituted for the corresponding native words. The grammatical construction of the language has remained the same at all periods of its employment : and it finally ceased to be a spoken language towards the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was replaced by the Arabian.

In writing their language, the ancient Egyptians employed three different kinds of characters. First, *figurative*; or representations of the objects themselves. Second, *symbolic*; or representations of certain physical or material objects, expressing metaphorically, or conventionally, certain ideas; such as, a people obedient to their king, figured, metaphorically, by a bee; the universe, conventionally, by a beetle. Third, *phonetic*, or representative of sounds; that is to say, strictly alphabetical characters. The phonetic signs were also portraits of physical and material objects; and each stood for the initial sound of the word in the Egyptian language which expressed the object portrayed: thus a lion was the sound L. because a lion was called Labo; and a hand a T, because a hand was called Tot. The form in which these objects were presented, when employed as phonetic characters, was

conventional, and *definite* to distinguish them from the same objects used either figuratively or symbolically; thus, the conventional form of the phonetic T was the hand open and outstretched; in any other form the hand would either be a figurative, or a symbolic sign. The number of distinct characters employed as phonetic signs appears to have been about 120; consequently many were homophones, or having the same signification. The three kinds of characters were used indiscriminately in the same writing, and occasionally in the composition of the same word. The formal Egyptian writing, therefore, such as we see it still existing on the monuments of the country, was a series of portraits of physical and material objects, of which a small proportion had a symbolic meaning, a still smaller proportion a figurative meaning, but the great body were phonetic or alphabetical signs: and to these portraits, sculptured or painted with sufficient fidelity to leave no doubt of the object represented, the name of hieroglyphics, or sacred characters, has been attached from their earliest historic notice.

The manuscripts of the same ancient period make us acquainted with two other forms of writing practised by the ancient Egyptians, both apparently distinct from the hieroglyphic, but which, on careful examination, are found to be its immediate derivatives; every hieroglyphic having its corresponding sign in the *hieratic*, or writing of the priests, in which the funeral ritual, forming a large portion of the manuscripts, are principally composed; and in the *demotic*, called also the *enchorial*, which was employed for all more ordinary and popular usages. The characters of the hieratic are for the most part obvious running imitations, or abridgements of the corresponding hieroglyphics; but in the demotic, which is still further removed from the original type, the derivation is less frequently and less obviously traceable. In the hieratic, fewer figurative or symbolic signs are employed than in the hieroglyphic; their absence being supplied by means of the phonetic or alphabetical characters, the words being spelt instead of figured; and this is still more the case in the demotic, which is, in consequence, almost entirely alphabetical.

After the conversion of the Egyptians to Christianity, the ancient mode of writing their language fell into disuse:

and an alphabet was adopted in substitution, consisting of the twenty-five Greek letters, with six additional signs expressing articulations and aspirations unknown to the Greeks, the characters for which were retained from the demotic. This is the Coptic alphabet, in which the Egyptian appears as a written language in the Coptic books and manuscripts preserved in our libraries; and in which, consequently, the language of the inscriptions on the monuments may be studied.

The original mode in which the language was written having thus fallen into disuse, it happened, at length, that the signification of the characters, and even the nature of the system of writing which they formed, became entirely lost; such notices on the subject as existed in the early historians being either too imperfect, or appearing too vague, to furnish a clue, although frequently and carefully studied for the purpose. The repossession of this knowledge will form, in literary history, one of the most remarkable distinctions, if not the principal, of the age in which we live. It is due primarily to the discovery by the French, during their possession of Egypt, of the since well-known monument called the Rosetta Stone, which, on their defeat and expulsion by the British troops, remained in the hands of the victors, was conveyed to England, and deposited in the British Museum. On this monument the same inscription is repeated in the Greek and in the Egyptian language, being written in the latter both in hieroglyphics and in the demotic or enchorial character. The words Ptolemy and Cleopatra, written in hieroglyphics, and recognized by means of the corresponding Greek of the Rosetta inscription, and by a Greek inscription on the base of an obelisk at Philæ, gave the phonetic characters of the letters which form those words: by their means the names were discovered, in hieroglyphic writing, on other monuments of all the Grecian kings and Grecian queens of Egypt, and of fourteen of the Roman emperors ending with Commodus; and by the comparison of these names one with another, the value of all the phonetic characters was finally ascertained.

The hieroglyphic alphabet thus made out has been subsequently applied to the elucidation of the earlier periods of Egyptian history, particularly in tracing the reigns and the succession of the Pharaohs, those native princes who

governed Egypt at the period of its splendour ; when its monarchy was the most powerful among the nations of the earth : its people the most advanced in learning, and in the cultivation of the arts and sciences ; and which has left, as its memorials, constructions more nearly approaching to imperishable, than any other of the works of man, which have been the wonder of every succeeding people, and which are now serving to re-establish, at the expiration of above 3000 years, the details of its long-forgotten history. To trace these stupendous monuments of art to their respective founders, and thus to fix, approximatively, at least, the epoch of their first existence, is a consequence of the restoration of the knowledge of the alphabet and the language of the inscriptions engraven on them. We propose to review, briefly as our limits require, the principal and most important facts that have thus recently been made known in regard to those early times ; and shall deem ourselves most fortunate if we can impart to our readers but a small portion of the interest which we have ourselves derived in watching their progressive discovery.

The following are the authors to whom we are chiefly indebted for the few particulars we know of early Egyptian history : Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, Grecians, and foreigners in Egypt. Manetho, a native ; and Eratosthenes, by birth a Cyrenean, a province bordering on Egypt, both residents. Josephus, a Jew, and Africanus, Eusebius and Syncellus, Christians, Greek authors. Herodotus visited Egypt four centuries and a half before Christ, and within a century after its conquest by the Persians. In his relation of the affairs of the Greeks and Persians, he has introduced incidentally a sketch of the early history of Egypt, such as he learnt it from popular tradition, and from information obtained from the priests. It is, however, merely a sketch, particularly of the earlier times ; and is further recorded by Josephus to have been censured by Manetho for its incorrectness. Diodorus is also understood to have visited Egypt about half a century before Christ ; and from him we have a similar sketch to that of Herodotus ; a record of the names of the most distinguished kings, and for what they were distinguished ; but with intervals, of many generations and of uncertain duration, passed without notice. Manetho was a priest of Heliopolis in

Lower Egypt, a city of the first rank amongst the sacred cities of ancient Egypt, and long the resort of foreigners as the seat of learning and knowledge. He lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, two centuries and a half before Christ, and wrote, by order of that prince, the history of his own country in the Greek language, translating it, as he states himself, out of the sacred records. His work is, most unfortunately, lost; but the fragments which have been preserved to us, by the writings of Josephus in the first century of the Christian æra, and by the Greek authors above named of the third and fourth centuries, contain matter, which, if entitled to confidence, is of the highest historical value, *viz.*, a chronological list of the successive rulers of Egypt, from the first foundation of monarchy, to Alexander of Macedon, who succeeded the Persians. This list is divided into thirty dynasties, not all of separate families; a memorable reign appearing in some instances to commence a new dynasty, although happening in the regular succession. It originally contained the length of reign as well as the name of every king; but in consequence of successive transcriptions, variations have crept in, and some few omissions also occur in the record, as it has reached us through the medium of different authors. The chronology of Manetho, adopted with confidence by some, and rejected with equal confidence by others,—his name and his information not being even noticed by some of the modern systematic writers on Egyptian history,—has received the most unquestionable and decisive testimony of its general fidelity by the interpretation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the existing monuments; so much so, that by the accordance of the facts attested by these monuments with the record of the historian, we have reason to expect the entire restoration of the annals of the Egyptian monarchy antecedent to the Persian conquest, and which, indeed, is already accomplished in part.

Before we pursue this part of our subject, we must conclude our brief review of the original authorities in early Egyptian history by a notice of Eratosthenes. He was keeper of the Alexandrian library in the reign of Ptolemy Evergetes, the successor to Ptolemy Philadelphus, under whose reign Manetho wrote. Amongst the few fragments of his works, which have reached us transmitted through

the Greek historians, is a catalogue of thirty-eight kings of Thebes, commencing with Menes, (who is mentioned by the other authorities also as the first monarch of Egypt,) and occupying by their successive reigns 1055 years. These names are stated to have been compiled from original records existing at Thebes, which city Eratosthenes visited expressly to consult them. The names of the two first kings in his catalogue are the same with the names of the two first kings of the first dynasty of Manetho; but the remainder of the catalogue presents no further accordance, either in the name or in the duration of the reigns.

To return to Manetho:—amongst the monarchs of the original Egyptian race there was one named by him Amenophis, (the eighth king of the eighteenth dynasty,) of whom it is stated, in a note of Manetho's preserved by Syncellus, that he was the Egyptian king whom the Greeks called Memnon. The statue of Memnon at Thebes, celebrated through all antiquity for the melodious sounds which it was said to render at sunrise, is identified in the present day by a multitude of Greek inscriptions; one of which, in particular, records the attestation of Publius Balbinus, who visited the ruins of Thebes in the suite of the empress the wife of Adrian, to his having himself heard the "divine sounds of Memnon or Phamenoph;" which latter name is Amenophis, with the Egyptian masculine article ϕ prefixed, and omitting the Greek termination. The hieroglyphics carved on the statue, and coeval with its date, had been very carefully copied by the French whilst in possession of Egypt, and were engraved in the splendid work, the *Description de l'Egypte*, to which their researches had given rise. These hieroglyphics contain the alphabetic characters Amnf (being the initial vowel and all the consonants of the name Amenof) enclosed within a ring; a distinction which had been previously observed to take place with the names of the Roman emperors, and of the Grecian kings and queens; and as the rings have hitherto been found to occur in no other instance whatsoever than when containing the names and titles of sovereigns, they are regarded as characteristic signs. It should be remarked, that in the hieroglyphic writing, as in the languages of other eastern nations most nearly connected with Egypt, the vowels are often omitted, and when expressed, have not always a fixed sound. The coincidence of the

reading of the hieroglyphic name with that recorded by Manetho, and with the Greek inscription on the statue itself, was so far confirmatory of Manetho's authority ; it was also highly interesting in the evidence it afforded of the employment of the same hieroglyphic alphabet, that was in after use in the times of the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, even in the very early periods of the Egyptian monarchy ; for the reign of Amenophis was in the dynasty preceding that of Sesos-tris : it also indicated the further advantage to be gained by the application of the alphabet in decyphering other proper names, distinguished by being inclosed in rings, existing on other statues, and in the more ancient temples generally. Considerable progress had been made in reading these, which in several instances had been found to correspond with the names of the kings of the same and of subsequent dynasties to Amenophis, as given by Manetho, when a most important discovery was made of the existence of a genealogical record, in hieroglyphics, of the titles of thirty-nine kings anterior to Sesos-tris, chronologically arranged. We have already noticed that the names and *titles* of kings were distinguished by being inclosed in rings ; the ring containing the proper name being accompanied usually by a second, enclosing certain other hieroglyphics, expressing the title by which that particular king was designated ; and it appears probable that the kings of Egypt were distinguished by their titles rather than by their names, since the same name recurs frequently in different individuals, but the titles are all dissimilar ; with a single exception amongst the very many that have come under observation, and in which the same title is common to two brothers. The signification of the titles is yet obscure, except that they are of the same general nature as is frequent in the East, such as "Sun of the Universe," &c. ; but for the purpose of individualizing, the sign is to us of the same value as the thing signified ; and as other monuments furnish the *names* in connexion with the *titles*, we are enabled to compare the succession evidenced by the titles with the record of the historian, and thus to test the fidelity of the record. The discovery of this hieroglyphic table was made by Mr. William Banks in 1818, in excavating for the purpose of obtaining an accurate ground-plan of the ruins of Abydus, near Thebes. On a side wall of one of the innermost apartments, hieroglyphics were

sculptured inclosed in rings, ranged symmetrically in three horizontal rows, each row having originally contained twenty rings, of which twelve of the upper row, eighteen of the middle, and fourteen of the lower row, were still remaining, the others having been destroyed by the breaking down of the wall. The hieroglyphics having been copied and lithographed, it was speedily recognised that the rings in the two upper rows consisted of titles only; with the exception of one proper name, the last of the second row, since known to be the name of the king whose title is the last in the succession, and who was the fourth in reign and generation before Sesostris. The third row was recognised to consist of one proper name and one title, each repeated ten times, and alternating with each other: these are since known to be the name and title of Sesostris, to whose reign the construction of the table is with much probability ascribed. The titles in the same row with that of the ancestor of Sesostris and preceding it, have been identified on other monuments, coupled with names which are those of the predecessors of the same king in the list of Manetho.

It would exceed our limits, and it is not our purpose, to trace in detail the successive steps by which the existence of each of the kings of Manetho's list, from the expulsion of the Phœnician shepherds from Lower Egypt, and the consequent union of Upper and Lower Egypt in a single monarchy, to the reign of Sesostris, has been attested by the monuments. Suffice it to say, that the same number of individuals as stated by Manetho, namely, eighteen, filling a space of four centuries, are shown, by the monuments, to have reigned in that interval, and to have borne the same relationship, as well as succession, to each other, as is expressed by the historian: that, of the eighteen names, eight in different parts of the list are read on the monuments identically as in the historical record; and that in regard to the names that are not identical, we have the testimony of Manetho that some amongst the kings, Sesostris, for example, were known by two and even by more names. The table of Abydos appears to have been strictly a genealogical record; a record of generations, in which view it is strictly accordant with the historian.

The period of the Egyptian annals on which this light has been thrown, is precisely that which might have been selected in the whole history of Egypt as the most desirable

for such purpose. Independently of its very high antiquity, it was the period of the greatest splendour and power of the native Egyptian monarchy, and of the highest (Egyptian) cultivation of the arts. The greater part of the more ancient, and by far the most admirable in execution, of the temples, palaces, and statues, which still attest by their ruins their former magnificence, are the work of that age; and the hieroglyphic inscriptions still extant on them, and which, when not defaced by wanton injury, are almost as perfect as when first executed, make known the reigns in which they were respectively constructed, and frequently the purposes for which they were designed. This is in itself no small achievement, when we reflect that these extraordinary remains of ancient art were equally the objects of vague wonderment in the times of the Roman emperors, as they were in those of the generation preceding ourselves; but that they are become to us objects of a more enlightened curiosity, which they promise amply to repay, when the study that has already made known their founders, shall reveal the signification of the hieroglyphic histories, with which the walls of the palaces and temples are covered. Already have we gained some very important facts in regard to the condition, political and otherwise, of the countries adjoining to Egypt at that early period. The monuments of Nubia are covered with hieroglyphics, perfectly similar both in form and disposition to those on the edifices at Thebes; the same elements, the same formulæ, the same language; and the names of the kings who elevated the most ancient amongst them, are those of the princes who constructed the most ancient parts of the palace of Karnac at Thebes. As far as Soleb on the Nile, 100 leagues to the south of Philæ the extreme frontier of Egypt, are found constructions bearing the inscriptions of an Egyptian king; evidencing that, during the period of which we have been treating, Nubia was inhabited by a people having the same language, the same belief, and the same kings as Egypt. To the south of Soleb, and for more than 100 leagues in ascending the Nile, in ancient Ethiopia, very recent travellers have discovered the remains of temples, of the same general style of architecture as those of Nubia and Egypt, decorated in the same manner with hieroglyphics representing the same mythology, and analogous to those of Egypt in the titles and in the mode of repre-

sending the names and titles of the sovereigns. But the proper names of the kings inscribed on the edifices of Ethiopia in phonetic characters, have nothing in common with the proper names of the Egyptian kings in the dynasties of Manetho; nor is one of the Ethiopian names found either on the monuments of Nubia or of Egypt. Thus there was a time when the civilized part of Ethiopia,—Meroe, and the banks of the Nile between Dongola and Meroe,—were inhabited by a people having language, writing, religion, and arts similar to Egypt; but, in political dominion, independent of that country, and ruled by kings of whom it does not appear that any historical record whatsoever has come down to us.

The dates of the expulsion of the Phœnician shepherds from Egypt, and of the reign of Sesostris, in years of the æra of our computation, have been favourite subjects of discussion with chronologists: Archbishop Usher fixed the former of these events in the year B. C. 1825; which would make the commencement of the reign of Sesostris about B. C. 1483. The reign of Sesostris is connected with the early Grecian chronology by the migration of Danaus, brother of Sesostris, who, according to the Parian marbles, arrived in Greece in 1485, which is a very few years earlier than the dates of Usher would assign to that event. M. Champollion Figeac, brother of the M. Champollion to whom the greater part of the discoveries made by the interpretation of hieroglyphics are owing, himself a distinguished chronologist, has assigned the year B. C. 1822 to the expulsion of the Phœnicians, which Usher had placed in 1825: the date of M. Champollion being derived from Manetho's statement, that the Phœnician invasion took place in the 700th year of the Sothiacal period, *viz.*, B. C. 2082, and that their dominion in Egypt continued 260 years. Historical accuracy may make it desirable, that the exact year of the most ancient as well as of more modern events should be determined, if it be possible: but for purposes of general interest, and especially for comparison with the chronology of cotemporary nations, which at that early period is in every case more unsettled than the Egyptian, the period seems sufficiently determined. The date before Christ 1822, pursued downwards through the dynasties of Manetho, conducts with very close approximation to the known period B. C. 525 of the conquest of Egypt by the Persians; and intermediately.

accords very satisfactorily with the dates, according to the Bible chronology, of the conquest of Jerusalem in the reign of Jeroboam by Shishak, king of Egypt, and of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia and Egypt, who made war against Sennacherib; these are the Sesonchis of Manetho, and Sh.sh.n.k of hieroglyphic inscriptions on a temple at Bubaste, and on one of the courts of the palace at Karnac,—and the Taracus of Manetho, and T.h.r.k of hieroglyphic inscriptions existing in Ethiopia and in Egypt.*

In respect to the connexion of the events of the Jewish and Egyptian histories, the period between the expulsion of the Phœnicians and the reign of Sesostris possesses a peculiar interest, as being that of the residence of the Israelites in Egypt, and of the Exodus. In the history of Josephus, we have an extract from Manetho, in which this latter event is expressly stated to have taken place under the father of Sesostris, a king whose name, in Manetho's list is Amenophis, (the third of that name,) and on the monuments Ramesses. The date which chronologists are generally agreed in assigning to the Exodus is 1491; that of the termination of the reign of Amenophis, according to Champollion, is 1473,

* It appears to us that a slight inaccuracy has crept into the deduction of all the dates in M. Champollion's Chronology subsequent to the expulsion of the shepherds. The date of that event is the foundation of the subsequent dates, and is supposed to have taken place B. C. 1822; after which according to the extract of Manetho in Josephus cited by M. Champollion, Thoutmosis, the king by whom they had been expelled, reigned 25 years and 4 months, followed by the other kings of the eighteenth dynasty, making altogether 342 years and 9 months: (including the 2 years and 2 months additional of Horus, in compliance with the version of the passage in the Armenian text of the Chronicle of Eusebius.) This number, 342 years and 9 months, falling short of the 345 years attributed to the eighteenth dynasty in Eusebius and Syncellus, M. Champollion has suggested that Thoutmosis may have reigned the five years which constitute the difference, before the expulsion of the shepherds, since, according to the record, he did reign, some years before that event, over all the parts of Egypt not possessed by the shepherds. So far, so well: but in such case, the year B. C. 1822, being the epoch of the expulsion of the shepherds, and not of the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, must surely correspond to the fifth year of the reign of Thoutmosis, and not to the first, as M. Champollion makes it. We have hesitated to venture this remark on a matter to which M. Champollion must have given so much attention, believing that mistake in us is much more probable than an accidental inadvertence in him; but we have returned frequently to the consideration, without having been able to satisfy ourselves; and the rectification of our mistake, if it is one, may prevent others falling into the same.

or, if the correction of his chronology which we have suggested in a note be just, 1478 : it is singular that the difference of thirteen years (between 1491 and 1478) should be precisely the duration of a very suspicious interval which Manellio states to have taken place, after Amenophis had gone with his army in pursuit of the Israelites ; and during which interval neither the king nor his army returned to Egypt, but are stated to have been absent in Ethiopia. If the Exodus occurred during the reign of any of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, it could only have been in the reign of the immediate predecessor of Sesostris ; since his conquests in Phœnicia, and his expeditions against the Assyrians and Medes, must have brought him in contact with the Israelites, had they been then residing in the Holy Land, so as at least to have caused some mention to have been made in their history of the passages of so great a conqueror. But presuming Amenophis, father and predecessor of Sesostris, to have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus, the wandering of the Israelites in the desert for forty of the fifty-five years ascribed to the reign of Sesostris, is a sufficient explanation of his being unnoticed in the Jewish history ; whilst the fact of that nation having been subject to the Egyptians during the reign of Ousirei, commencing 124 years before the death of Amenophis, is attested by the paintings on the wall of one of the chambers of the tomb of that king, discovered by Belzoni, and with which we are so well acquainted by means of the model exhibited in England.

Whilst recalling to recollection the peculiar physiognomy of the Jews portrayed in that tomb,—and which is as characteristic of their present physiognomy as if it had been painted in the present age, instead of above 3000 years ago,—the equally well characterized, but very different physiognomy of the Phœnician shepherds, represented on the monuments of the same period, is decisive of the error of Josephus who imagine! the Jews and the Shepherds to be the same people. The Phœnician shepherds, long the inveterate enemy of the Egyptians, form a leading feature as captives, in the representations of the exploits of the monarchs who conducted the warfare against them. These people are always painted with blue eyes and light hair ; and it is not a little curious to see assembled on the wall of the same apartment, different races, so distinctly

characterised as the Jew, the Phœnician, the Egyptian, and the Negro; the latter in colour, and in the outline of the features, in painting and in sculpture, precisely as at present; all, moreover, inhabitants of countries not very distant from each other, and at a period when not more than twelve or thirteen centuries had passed since all these races had descended from a single parent. In the writings which attempt to explain from natural causes the diversity of race amongst mankind, much power has been ascribed to the effects of time and climate: but the facts with which we are now becoming better acquainted than before, do not appear to admit of explanation from those circumstances. It is worthy of notice that the negro, and the light-haired and blue-eyed people, the two races who might be deemed at the greatest distance apart amongst the varieties of man, are, equally with the intermediate Egyptians, the descendants of Ham.

Of the succession of kings in Manetho's chronology, from Sesostris to the Persian conquest, a space of nine centuries and a half, about one half the names have been already identified on different monuments: four of the Persian monarchs, subsequent to the conquest, have also been traced in inscriptions in phonetic characters; their names are written as nearly as can be spelt with our letters, Kamboth, (Cambyzes); Ntariouich, (Darius); Khschearscha, (Xerxes); and Artakschessch, (Artaxerxes.)

The ascent by monumental evidence to yet more remote antiquity than the expulsion of the Phœnician shepherds, (B. C. 1822), is not altogether without hope, notwithstanding the general demolition of the temples of the gods, which took place according to Manetho, during the long dominion of the Phœnicians in Egypt. We learn from the *Description de l'Égypte* that even the most ancient structures at Thebes are themselves composed of the debris of still more ancient buildings, used as simple materials, on which previously sculptured and painted hieroglyphics are still existing; these are doubtless the remains of the demolished temples, but the inscriptions will require to be studied on the spot. There is also reason to believe, that there exists amongst the ruins of the palace of Karnac, a portion of still more ancient construction than the palace itself; which, having escaped demolition, was incorporated with the more

recent building. The inscriptions on this apparently very ancient ruin present the name and title of a king, which form a very interesting subject for future elucidation. The title does not accord with any one now extant on the table of Abydos, but possibly may have been one of those which were destroyed with a portion of the wall, and which are of kings of earlier date than the expulsion of the shepherds. The name is Mandouei, which name occurs in the dynasty anterior to Sesostris, but coupled with a different title, an effectual distinction; nor does the name recur in any subsequent dynasty. M. Champollion Figeac has, with much ingenuity, shown the probability of the identity of the Mandouei of the ancient ruin with the Osymandyas, Ousi-Mandouei, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus as an Egyptian king greatly distinguished by his conquests, whose reign M. Champollion infers, from the historical passages relating to him, to have commenced 190 years before the Phœnician invasion, or B. C. 2272 years; a prodigious antiquity, and of the very highest interest should it be established, since there exist of this individual no less than three statues in European collections distinguished by the same name and title: two of these are colossal, one at Turin, and a second at Rome: a third is in the British Museum; and as all particulars must interest which relate to a statue, of which there is at least probability that it is the most ancient existing in the world,—the date attributed to it being earlier than the birth of Abraham,—we copy from Burckhardt the following short description of its discovery: “Within the inclosure of the interior part of the temple at Karnac, Belzoni found a statue of a hard, large-grained sandstone: a whole length naked figure sitting upon a chair with a ram’s head upon the knees: the face and body entire; with plaited hair falling down to the shoulders. This is one of the first, I should say, the first Egyptian statue I have seen: the expression of the face is exquisite, and I believe it to be a portrait.”—(J. L. BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Nubia*, lxxvii. *Letter to Mr. W. Hamilton*, 20th February. 1817.)—This statue is in the farthest corner on the right hand side after entering the gallery of the Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum: and compared with other statues in the same gallery, which are of kings of the eighteenth dynasty, the dissimilarity of

the features from the very characteristic ones of the latter family is too striking to be questioned. The problem of the age of this king Mandouei is, at all events, a highly curious one; and will probably receive its solution amongst the many other valuable discoveries which cannot fail to result from M. Champollion's projected visit to Egypt, in which he will be accompanied by the sincere good wishes of every one in every country, who feels an interest in the restoration of authentic history.

E. S.

II. Origin and Progress of the Reformation in Ireland. From *The British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review, and Ecclesiastical Record*. Jan. 1828.

The accounts which have been received from that country within the last and the present year, of a new and important movement of religion, appear to deserve a special inquiry, and we have accordingly used our best efforts to ascertain the truth. So agitated is that portion of the empire by the violence of party, that the influences of religion are unavoidably viewed through a political medium; and their operation is too often represented rather as it may suit the views of partizans, than as it may approve itself to the sober and serious consideration of Christians. While one of the two great parties by which Ireland is divided, speak of this movement as a new reformation, not only commenced, but hastening rapidly to a consummation, which must speedily unite the whole island in the profession of a common faith; the other, even in the senate of the empire, treat the notion of a religious reformation as a visionary chimera, which may amuse the imagination of a weak enthusiast, but cannot engage the attention of a man possessing a sound and reasonable mind. Amidst this diversity of representation, the reflecting public of England do not know what opinion they should form on the subject. That some extraordinary movement has occurred, is certain, and cannot be denied. When during many years the public conversion of a Roman Catholic to the Protestant faith had been a very rare occurrence, and in the lower classes of society, by the influence of intermarriages, the current of conversion had even taken the contrary course, the public was surprised

with numerous and public instances of conversion, continued from week to week, and though at first confined to a single county, yet soon appearing also in various and distant parts of the country; so that they could not be regarded as the effects of any causes merely local. As this movement has not been limited in place, so neither has it been a merely temporary effervescence, in which some occasional discontent has exploded. The instances of acts of conformity were more numerous in the beginning, but they have never been discontinued. It seems as if some accumulation of force had been necessary for commencing a practice so novel, and had been expended in overcoming the primary difficulty; but the force, whatever it may be, continues to act; the movement, whether it be a religious reformation or not, is uninterrupted.

Two questions naturally present themselves to the mind of a person contemplating this novel and very remarkable occurrence. One of these is, whether any reason can be imagined for regarding it as a new modification of political party: the other, whether the changes which have occurred are sufficiently considerable to warrant the expectation of a general diffusion of pure religion. If these questions can both be satisfactorily answered, the former in the negative, the latter in the affirmative; if it shall appear that the movement is in its main character separated from the influences of worldly policy, and that not only the stream of conversion continues to flow, but that plain indications of a disposition to listen to religious truth are discoverable in the minds of those who still adhere to the religion of Rome; we may surely conclude that a real reformation has been actually commenced, and that the wide and general extension of it may be reasonably expected. But if, in addition to these considerations, it should appear that the changes which have occurred are not events for which no adequate cause can be assigned, but the direct and natural result of agencies, by which such changes might have been, and actually were, anticipated, we perceive no reason why our assent to their reality and importance should longer be withheld—why we should not joyfully hail the new dawn of religious truth, now breaking upon a land with which we are so closely and intimately connected.

Independently, indeed, of all these considerations, ought

it to be deemed an improbable and almost incredible event, that a new era of religious reformation should be at this time begun in Ireland? What is there in such an occurrence so contrary to the general analogy of God's dealing with his creatures, that we should receive all reports of it with suspicion and distrust? If the ignorance and superstition of the majority of the people of Ireland have hitherto rendered them insensible to the animating truths of religion, we may say to the worldly politician of the present day as the Apostle demanded of Agrippa, "Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the dead?" Is it agreeable to the course of the Almighty's providence, that the popular mind, which has once sunk in the moral death of ignorance and superstition, should never be restored to the animation of reason and religion? Should we not rather expect that, at some time or other, the Almighty would vindicate his superintending care of his moral creation, and call forth light and life from the very abuses and corruptions in which they seemed to be for ever lost? When the general religion of Europe had been reduced to a mass of senseless superstitions, which offended the pious, and were ridiculed even by the priests who practised them for gain, the reforming efforts of an obscure Friar, who himself did not see clearly the way in which he was proceeding, were successfully opposed to the Power of Darkness, and began the deliverance of the Christian world. Such a change as was begun for Europe in general in the sixteenth century, may well be supposed to have been begun for Ireland in the nineteenth. The grossness of the abuses, which are urged as a reason for despair, is the very particular which constitutes the correspondence of the two cases; and the power of genuine religion, which is now brought to bear upon those abuses, exceeds, beyond all comparison, the exertions of an individual, who was actually acquiring for himself a knowledge of religious truth, while he was labouring to restrain the enormity of a practical corruption.

But it is said that attempts to *reform* the Irish have been repeatedly made without effect. If, however, it should appear that the efforts heretofore exerted were not fitted to attain this end, and if a different method of prosecuting the same purpose has at length been adopted, no argument for despondency can be drawn from these circumstances.

When the Grecian Orator laboured to animate the exertions of his countrymen, he told them that the general mismanagement of their affairs in times past, augured most favourably of their future success; while no hope could remain if they had been reduced to their actual condition, in spite of having done all which their duty demanded. Those who are now solicitous for the diffusion of the knowledge of true religion in Ireland, may surely apply to themselves this consolatory reflection, for it may without difficulty be shown, that the modes of conversion heretofore chiefly, and almost exclusively, employed, could not be effectual to the propagation of genuine religion. It is even more applicable to the subject of our present inquiry, because no Protestant can consistently doubt that the truth of his religion will ultimately prevail over ignorance and superstition; whereas the Orator could not be assured that his country might by any efforts of duty be rescued from subjugation. A Protestant of this empire may, without inconsistency, doubt whether the time has yet arrived when he might reasonably hope to bring all the people of Ireland to the knowledge of the truth; but if he be sincere in his profession of religion, he cannot for a moment entertain a doubt whether such a time must arrive, and the sole deliberation which he should hold with himself on the question, is whether it has already come, and demands of him his most strenuous efforts for assisting in the important work.

The Protestant religion was first promulgated in Dublin in the year 1551, the fifth of the reign of Edward VI., the Book of Common Prayer being in that year printed in Dublin; and considerable exertions were made by the Archbishop of Dublin, for propagating a knowledge of it among those who understood the English language. Little time, however, was allowed for the success of these exertions, Edward dying two years afterwards, and being succeeded by Mary. The reformation of religion in Ireland was resumed by Elizabeth, but, at first, without giving any attention to the case of those who were ignorant of the language of the neighbouring country. The queen, indeed, in the year 1571, sent Irish types into this country, in the hope that God would raise up some persons to translate the New-Testament into the original language of Ireland. The pious hope was, however, not accomplished till the year 1602.

nor was the Book of Common Prayer published in the Irish language until the year 1608. The period of time preceding this latter year, may be considered as having only announced the intention of extending the reformation of religion throughout Ireland.

James, though he did not refrain from endeavouring to spread the reformation in Ireland by acts of authority, did, however, also adopt the more reasonable and effectual method of causing the Service of the Church to be performed in the Irish language, and the New Testament, as translated into that language, to be read to the people. This truly Christian mode of propagating just notions of religion, was earnestly adopted by the celebrated Bishop Bedell, who was advanced to the see of Kilmore in the year 1629. That pious and zealous prelate had, however, fallen on evil days, for twelve years after his advancement broke out the bloody rebellion of the seventeenth century, which had been preceded, by much political agitation. The voice of the preacher was accordingly raised amidst the tumult and the irritation of an excited people, and the effect which that voice produced was speedily swept away in the flood of violence, which overwhelmed the land. But even in this dark and dismal period of the history of our Church, the inquirer may discover one gleam of brightness, to cheer him in the hope of at length overcoming the resistance of bigotry. The prelate, whom the Romanists had imprisoned when living, because he would not abandon those who had fled to him for protection, they remembered with reverence when dead. They solemnized his funeral with the ill-assorted honours of a volley of musketry, wishing that "he might rest in peace the last of the English," and from the lips of a Roman Catholic Priest, issued the half-converted prayer, that his soul might be with Bedell. When amidst the infuriate massacres of a sanguinary rebellion, even so much impression could be made, why should we despair of the influence of truth in a season, not merely of tranquillity, but even of kind and amicable intercourse?

In the interval of thirty-three years, which was interposed between the year 1608 and the commencement of the great rebellion, the legitimate method of propagating the reformation by making known to the people the sacred Scriptures and the Liturgy, was in some degree put in practice, but

many causes co-operated to defeat its success. The long series of troubles which disturbed the government of Elizabeth, having been terminated but just before her death, the university which she had founded in Dublin for the purpose was not yet prepared to furnish to the Protestant Church a sufficient supply of educated ministers ; James, though willing to communicate a knowledge of genuine religion to the Irish, was yet more solicitous to form a Protestant interest, by the introduction of English and Scottish settlers, to the exclusion of the ancient possessors of the lands, who must necessarily have been irritated and alienated ; and, above all, the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy, greatly augmented by the success of James, in dissolving the connection of the Irish clans, and thus detaching the vassals from the authority of their lords, was during all this time actively employed in preparing the people for the great rebellion, which after two postponements, broke out in the year 1641. If therefore, all efforts for spreading the reformation among the general population of Ireland, were, up to this date, ineffectual, the cause is to be found in the treason of the Roman Catholic clergy, who had placed their church in hostility to the state, and consequently had imposed upon the state the necessity of reducing them to a condition in which they should be no longer formidable.

From the commencement of the rebellion to the Restoration, Ireland was a scene of public commotion, in which the voice of genuine religion could gain no audience, though its language was perpetually assumed to stimulate the evil passions of the time. The bigotry of the Roman Catholics was then punished by the Act of Settlement, which confiscated so large a portion of the lands of the Irish, that their possessions were reduced to less than a third part of the island, though before the war they had been estimated as double of those of the English. A change of property so enormous must have caused irritation, sufficient to present insuperable difficulty to all efforts of religious conversion ; nor can we suppose that this difficulty was in any degree diminished, until the struggle of parties had been decided by the War of the Revolution, and further resistance rendered hopeless to all, except the clergy, who, as we now know, were creatures of the Pretender, as long as a Popish claimant of the crown existed. Neither, indeed, are we aware, that any effort was

in this interval exerted for the purpose of conversion, excepting by the truly Christian philosopher, Mr. Boyle, who caused the Catechism of the Established Church to be printed in the Irish language in the year 1680, a new edition of the Irish New Testament to be published in the following year, and in the year 1685, an Irish Translation of the Old Testament.

Soon after the Revolution, some exertions were made for the conversion of the Irish, and with a good prospect of success. Two individuals, in distant parts of Ireland, the Reverend Nicholas Brown, in the diocese of Clogher, in the year 1702; and not long afterwards, the Reverend Walter Atkins, in the diocese of Cloyne, applied themselves to this important work, by addressing the people in the language which they understood. Of the former of these zealous clergymen, it has been recorded, that he took care to attend a congregation of his Roman Catholic parishoners just when their service was concluded, and then to read to them, in their own language, the Prayers of the Established Church. On one of these occasions, the Roman Catholic clergyman, to draw away his congregation from their new devotions, for they joined earnestly in our service, cried aloud that those prayers had been stolen from the Church of Rome. "If it was so," said a grave old native, "they have stolen the best as thieves generally do." Of the other, we are informed, that the native Irish were so much gratified with the offices of religion, which he performed for them in the Irish language, that they sent for him from all parts of his very extensive parish; that one of them was heard to say, at a funeral at which he thus officiated, that if they could have that service always, they would go no more to mass; and that he was requested to forbear celebrating so many marriages of Roman Catholics, lest he should leave their clergymen destitute of sufficient means of subsistence.

In the beginning of the year 1710, when most of the Roman Catholic clergy, by declining to swear the oath of abjuration, had rendered themselves liable to great penalties, if they should exercise their function, some clergymen of the Established Church, deeming it lamentable that the Irish should be left without religion, resolved to imitate these two persons, and their efforts were rewarded with the pleased attention of the Irish Roman Catholics. Delighted with

hearing our prayers in their own language, they openly declared that our service was very good, and that they disapproved of praying in any unknown tongue; some of them also were observed to be much affected, when they listened to the Scriptures thus, probably for the first time, brought within their knowledge.

Here was a fair opening for prosecuting a reformation of religion in Ireland. The country was not then, as in the time of Bedell, agitated by treasonable intrigue or by open rebellion, for the strife of parties had been decided by the success and ascendancy of the Protestants. The Roman Catholics also, as far as they were tried, appear to have received with gratitude and interest the exertions of pious Protestants, to give them more just conceptions of religion. Why then was the salutary work interrupted? Did the Protestants become indifferent to the propagation of a purer faith, or were they obstructed by new difficulties, which they were unable to surmount? The answer to that interesting inquiry has been furnished by the Reverend John Richardson, who, in the year 1712, gave to the public the narrative from which these particulars have been collected. This pious clergyman has intimated, that the principal reason why the Reformed Religion had not made a greater progress in Ireland, was, that dependence had been placed on political, rather than on evangelical means, for its propagation; and his own narrative shows, that these very men, pious and zealous as they undoubtedly were, fell into this grievous error, and so were led away from the right path, by which they might have extensively communicated the knowledge of the Gospel. The very success, indeed, of their efforts, was the occasion of their ultimate failure. It was deemed expedient to interest the government of the country in the prosecution of the work which had been so happily undertaken. The government expressed a disposition most favourable to the wishes of the friends of the measure; but the convocation and the parliament were also to be consulted, and the latter of these assemblies, though they too approved the principle of addressing the Irish Roman Catholics in their own language, judged it necessary, to the maintenance of the connection with Great Britain, to enforce the acquisition of the English tongue. When it is also considered, that the parliament had two years before

this time, completed the penal code, it will be easily understood, that the principle, which all had joined in commending, was speedily forgotten, and that the entire dependence of the Protestants was placed on the efficacy of force.

As in the time of Bedell the progress of religious reformation was prevented by the agitations of the people, so in this later period was it interrupted by the compulsory measures of the government, which the circumstances of the country had placed in hostility to the religion of Roman Catholics. Against this conduct of the government it is easy to declaim; but it should be recollected, that we have now unquestionable testimony, informing us that the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland were at this time nominated by the Pretender, and we may therefore consider the whole hierarchy of the Romish church of that country as in secret arrayed against the security of the existing government. Whatever reasons, however, may have existed for framing a code of so great severity, and whether the government did, or did not, go beyond the necessities of the public safety, it is evidently seen that such a position was decidedly unfavourable to every hope of proselyting the Roman Catholics. The government indeed, and the Protestant part of the people seem to have suddenly forgotten the pious intention of converting them by addressing them in their own language, and to have trusted wholly to a proscription of their religion, so rigorous that it should leave them with scarcely any other option than that of adopting the religion of the state. This system of proscription had very little efficacy in conversion: neither indeed did it deserve to have any, for the proselytes which it could procure, would have little pretention to the character of sincere Protestants. In the growing liberality of the age it was at length abandoned, and a contrary system was substituted in its place. It was then, and by many politicians it is still maintained, that the true method of converting Roman Catholics is to abolish, as much as possible, all political distinctions existing between them and Protestants; and it has been again and again insisted that, when political jealousy and irritation shall have been removed, the former cannot fail to become sensible of the superiority of the religious tenets of the latter, and must rapidly renounce every peculiarity which might continue to separate them from their fellow-subjects either in religion or in policy.

This system has also been tried through a long series of years, the half of a century having elapsed since the first measure of indulgence, and thirty-four years having passed since the Roman Catholics of Ireland were admitted to that common right of citizenship, which must have taken from the multitude every feeling of degradation. Like the former, it has notwithstanding proved wholly inefficacious. The clergy, whom the government in its liberality educated at the public expense, and to whom it was willing to afford competent stipends, chose to continue entirely independent of a Protestant and therefore an heretical state; and the laity, far from being conciliated by past concessions, rose from petitions to peremptory demands, which they enforced by open denunciations of the physical violence of an exasperated multitude.

From this double failure, we suppose, the mere politician has, in his blindness, concluded, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland are not to be converted, and that the reformation alleged to have been at length begun in that country, is the dream of enthusiasm. He has seen, as we all have seen, that both severity and conciliation have failed to produce the desired effect; and he has thence concluded that the effect cannot be produced at all. It might be sufficient to ask him, in what particular is the Irish Roman Catholic degraded below the general level of his species, that he must be deemed inaccessible to the influences of reason. Is he so destitute of understanding, that he cannot comprehend the genuine truths of that religion which was originally addressed to the poor? Is he so indifferent to his everlasting welfare, that he cannot appreciate their importance? Strange inconsistency of party! The very men, who claim for them as their right the exercise of political power, and contend for their qualification to manage the interests of a complicated government, would exclude the Roman Catholics of Ireland from the hope of attaining the knowledge of that form of Christianity, which, if they are themselves sincere in their religious profession, they esteem to be purified from a number of superstitions and abuses still debasing the Church of Rome.

We will now inform these politicians, why the scheme of conciliation did not succeed in attracting proselytes from the religion of Rome. It failed because it was simply political, and the methods of human policy do not belong to reli-

gion. When conciliation was the guiding principle of the government, all controversial discussion was hushed to repose and it would have been considered as an ungracious interruption of the general harmony, if any zealous minister of the Protestant church should have appeared to think, that he had a right to concern himself with the religious interests of his Roman Catholic parishioners. Roman Catholics were expected to become Protestants, because as Roman Catholics they had nothing further to desire, and were to quit the religion of their fathers in the gaiety of their satisfied hearts. Unfortunately for this expectation, they still found something to desire, which had not yet been conceded, and the consciousness of increasing strength and importance supplied a new and powerful motive for adhering to a party already considerable in the state.

If therefore we look back on the whole course of the past proceedings of the Protestants of Ireland in regard to the conversion of the Roman Catholics, we find, with the exception of the well directed efforts of a few individuals, two contrary methods successively adopted, both merely political, and therefore both incapable of producing a religious effect. Each indeed, it may easily be shown, contained a principle destructive of its own efficacy. When the government endeavoured by legislative acts to suppress the religion of Roman Catholics, their native independence, supported by the influence of the clergy, was roused to resist the aggression with a steadiness which might entitle them to the name of confessors. When, on the other hand, liberality was the ruling principle of the day, and this liberality required that persons differing in religious opinions should avoid all mutual interference, and that Protestants should almost proceed so far as to join in the worship of Roman Catholics, why should the latter be disposed to go over to a church to the distinguishing peculiarities of which its own members appeared to attach so little importance?

From the acknowledged failure of such methods of making proselytes it is manifest that no argument can fairly be deduced, to prove the probability of the failure of a method entirely different. The inference indeed should be of an opposite nature. If methods merely political have been confessedly unsuccessful, we may conclude that a mode of conversion, in which worldly policy had no controlling influence

would probably be successful, unless we should be able to persuade ourselves that God had abandoned the Roman Catholics of Ireland to irremediable delusion.

What then may be considered as the primary cause of the movement which has attracted so much observation? The religious improvement of the Protestants is, we have no hesitation in saying, the true and adequate principle of the reformation of the Roman Catholics. Here is a cause independent of the mere policy of the world, and to which therefore no unfavourable inference from the failure of that policy can fairly be applied. Neither can any consequence be more natural and direct, than that the increased seriousness and piety of the members of the purer church should dispose them to seek, by every effort becoming sincere Christians, the improvement of those who are still debased by ignorance and superstition. The influence of such a church is at the same time naturally efficacious. It neither irritates the ignorant and superstitious by penalties, nor confirms them in error by an apparent indifference for the truth. It draws them, on the contrary, "by the cords of a man," by all the strong sympathies of our common nature. When the poor peasant, who knew little more of his religion, than that he was required to obey his priest, perceived that persons placed in a higher condition of life were desirous of instructing him or his children, he revered them as the kindest benefactors. When he saw the religion, which they professed, exemplified in the zealous piety of their conduct, he could not but be disposed to think, that there was something in the doctrine of Christ, differing from the strange compound of superstition and folly which he had been taught to embrace as the true and only faith. When they, perhaps for the first time, brought to his knowledge the sacred record, which contained the original authority for his Christian hope, he could not easily be persuaded to forego the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the truths which it revealed, or to content himself with the scanty information communicated by the clergy of his Church. Such an influence has effected, and is continuing to effect, that which human policy, with its penalties and its conciliation, was wholly unable, because unfitted, to accomplish.

As this was not an operation of human policy, so did it take its commencement from a point, from which the utmost

effort of human sagacity could not have anticipated such a result. Three individuals in humble situations of life, Mr. Watson, a bookseller, Dr. O'Connor, a parochial clergyman, and Mr. Skeys, a merchant, associated in the year 1792, to reform, not Roman Catholics, but Protestants, by constituting an Association, the object of which should be to support the cause of religion by the influence of example. Some serious persons, especially among the clergy, soon joined themselves to the society; it gradually became numerous, and acquired funds sufficient for disseminating the Scriptures and religious tracts; and at length, in the year 1801, having received from the government a charter of incorporation, and an annual grant of money, which has since been largely augmented, it engaged in the direct encouragement of the education of the poor.

The efforts of this association, which was chiefly under the direction of the clergy, excited in the great body of the laity a desire of forming associations for similar purposes; and the Hibernian Bible Society was accordingly constituted in the year 1806, and in the year 1811 the Kildare Place Society for the Education of the Poor, which did not however begin its active operations until the year 1817, when it had been furnished with parliamentary aid, and had prepared its central establishment in the metropolis.

The Bible Society was doubtless formed with the best and purest intentions, and accordingly was originally patronized by the dignitaries of the Established Church, though the inferior clergy generally adhered to the earlier association, as more peculiarly their own. In process of time, indeed, some irregularities manifested themselves in the management of its operations, which gave occasion to a secession of most of the dignitaries, and of other clergymen, who however felt it to be on that very account their duty to afford a more strenuous support to the other society professing the same objects. The Bible Society has thus become almost exclusively a lay association; and the dissemination of the Scriptures has been actively prosecuted by two distinct bodies, one comprehending, together with some laymen, almost all the established clergy throughout Ireland, the other, though including among its members a comparatively small number of the clergy, yet chiefly composed of laymen.

The original society, or the Association for Discountenan-

cing Vice, has had two distinct objects ;—it both disseminated the Scriptures and religious tracts, and promoted the extension and improvement of the education of the poor. In this latter respect it was zealously emulated by the Kildare Place Society, which, however, was constituted on a principle of the utmost comprehension, consistent with affording a scriptural education. This society submitted its schools to the management of a committee, composed of persons of various denominations of religion, and, excluding all catechisms, required only as an indispensable condition, that the Scriptures should be daily read among the scholars.

While these efforts for the education of the poor were exerted by the well-disposed among the people of Ireland, the benevolence of this country was directed to the reformation of ignorance in the neighbouring island. Some individuals associated in London for this beneficent purpose in the year 1806, under the name of the London Hibernian Society. At the commencement this Institution established schools and employed preachers ; but in the year 1814 it was wisely determined, that the employment of preachers should be discontinued and that the efforts of the society should be confined to the support of schools, and the dissemination of the Scriptures and of religious tracts. Though this society proposes religious instruction as its object, it has disclaimed proselytism ; being desirous to afford religious instruction without reference to creeds, and no religious books being admitted into its schools except the sacred Scriptures, in the English and Irish languages, without note or comment. With this view, however, it proceeds further than the Kildare Place Society, in whose schools the patron, or master, may select the children, who shall read the New Testament, and the version which shall be used by them, with the particular passages which shall be read.

These are the great instruments of the education of the lower classes in Ireland, but others have been employed in co-operation with them. A Sunday School Society was established in the year 1809 ; the Baptist Society, so denominated because it was formed by persons of the sect of Baptists, though on the same principle with the London Hibernian Society, was formed in the year 1814 ; and the Irish Society, the design of which was to enable the Irish peasant to read the Scriptures in his own language, has added its ef-

forts, that a knowledge of the Scriptures might be communicated to those, who were either ignorant of the English language, or could better understand the Irish. Neither have the useful efforts of the friends of instruction been confined to the establishment of schools, for persons have been employed to visit the peasantry in their cabins, and there to read to them portions of the sacred writings; and, whatever repugnance the clergy of the establishment might entertain to the employment of irregular preachers, they very willingly availed themselves of the services of those persons, who professed only to read the Scriptures to the poor.

To what extent the operations of the several societies for educating the poorer classes have been carried, has been distinctly stated in the first Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, published in year 1825, the year immediately preceding that in which the public was surprised by numerous conversions of Roman Catholics. From this Report it appears, that the probable number of children receiving education from these several societies was between 400,000 and 500,000. Though such a number is not considerable in comparison with those still left in ignorance, or abandoned to the common education of the peasantry, yet it is manifest that even this number must send into the general population of the country a knowledge, at least of the existence of the sacred writings, which can not fail to exercise some beneficial influence on the state of society. The families, to which the children thus instructed belonged, would learn from them, that there is a Record, on which their only hope of a future existence must be founded; and would probably also learn some of its most interesting particulars. In the Sunday schools, and the schools of the London Hibernian Society, many adults receive Scriptural education; the itinerant teachers of the Irish Society extend still further the benefits of instruction to the grown population; and the Scripture-readers communicate some knowledge of the saving truths of the Gospel to those who possess not the opportunity of attaining the art of reading. All these operations were supported by a distribution of the Sacred Writings, from various societies, which has been stated to have supplied, in the course of twenty years. 944,549, or nearly a million. copies of the Scriptures.

III. The Grison League. From the same. Oct. 1827.

The Protestants of the more southern states, deprived of liberty in all its forms, naturally betook themselves to the small republics which were spread over the valleys of the Eastern Alps, where they found at once a kindred people and a language which they could understand. Surrounded by the mountains whence proceed the Rhine and the Inn, secluded from the rest of the world, and occupied either in feeding cattle, or in cultivating a few scattered fields or vineyards, the inhabitants, who came originally from Italy, had preserved their ancient tongue and manners, with little variation, from a period considerably more remote than the Christian era. The Grison League, or Commonwealth, consisted of three distinct states, known by the singular names of the Grey League, the League of God's House, and the League of the Ten Jurisdictions; each of which was composed of a number of smaller communities, which retain the right of managing all its internal affairs, and of sending deputies to the general Diet.

It has been remarked, that in no nation, ancient or modern, have the principles of democracy been carried to such an extent as in the Grison republic; and as the checks necessary to prevent its abuse were not provided by a rude people, smarting under the recent effects of tyranny, its form of government, according to the confession of its own as well as of foreign writers, not only created great dissensions, but led to great corruption and bribery in election to offices, and in the administration of justice. The corruptions, too, which had overspread the Catholic Church, before the Reformation were to be found in the Grisons, with all the aggravations arising from the credulity of men who were still entirely ignorant of letters. Half a century even after the light of Protestantism had penetrated into the Rhætian valleys, the government found it necessary to issue a decree, ordering that the Roman Catholic priests should recite the Lord's prayer, Apostle's creed and Ten Commandments for the instruction of the people.

Philip Salutz and John Dorfmann have been reputed the first reformers of the Grisons. The latter was a man of learning, sound judgment, and warm piety: to which

qualities the former added great dexterity in the management of public business, an invincible command of temper, and uncommon eloquence, both in his native tongue and in Latin. But the conversion of John Frich, parish priest of Mayenfield, was brought about in a singular manner. Being a zealous Catholic, and of great note among his brethren, he had warmly resisted the new opinions. Filled with chagrin and alarm at the progress which he saw them making in his immediate neighbourhood, he repaired to Rome to implore the assistance of his holiness, and to consult him on the best method of preventing his native country from being overrun with heresy. But he was so struck with the irreligion which he observed in the court of Rome, and the ignorance and vice prevailing in Italy, that, upon his return home, he joined the party which he had opposed, and became the reformer of Mayenfield. In his old age he used to say to his friends pleasantly, that he had learned the Gospel at Rome.

About the year 1526, a statute was enacted by the general commissioners of the league, that "it shall be free to all persons of both sexes, and of whatever condition or rank, within the territories of the Grison confederation, to choose, embrace and profess either the Roman Catholic or the Evangelical religion; and that no one shall, publicly or privately harrass another with reproaches, or odious speeches, on account of his religion, under an arbitrary penalty." Where persons had bequeathed sums of money to churches and convents for offering anniversary masses and prayers for their souls, both they and their heirs were declared free from any obligation to make such payments for the future, "because no good ground could be shown for believing that this was of any benefit to the deceased." It was decreed that no new members, male or female, should be admitted into monasteries; that the existing monks should be restrained from begging; and that after appropriating a certain sum for their support during life, the remainder of the funds should be returned to the heirs of those who originally bestowed them. The power of choosing their respective ministers was given to all parishes. Appeals from secular courts to the jurisdiction of the bishop was strictly prohibited; annats and small tithes were abolished, and the great tithes reduced to a fifth.

In the course of thirty years, about eight hundred exiles had taken shelter in the Grisons, or, to use the language of Dr. M'Cree, had "thrown themselves on the glaciers of the Alps, to escape from the fires of the Inquisition." Their first arrival in the country produced an impression highly favourable to the interests of the Reformation; but the theological dissensions which had weakened the good cause in Italy itself, followed the Protestants to their mountains, and impeded materially the progress of the new opinions. The jealousy of the Catholics, too, aided by the arms of the neighbouring princes, threw a bar in the way of their advancement: but, in spite of all these disadvantages, the seeds of civil and religious freedom were so deeply sown as to defy successfully all the attempts of priest and tyrant to root them out.



IV. *Horæ Evangelicæ.* From *The Baptist Magazine.* Jan. 1828.

Without depreciating the value of the *external* evidence of the truth and divine inspiration of the Scriptures, it may safely be affirmed, that in several respects the *internal* evidence, arising from the sublimity of the doctrines, the purity of the morality, the extraordinary harmony, and the beneficial tendency of the whole, possesses an infinite superiority, and is entitled to a greater degree of credence than the former. Thus, whatever pretences a book may make to authenticity and inspiration, and by whatever weight of external evidence it may be supported, if it contain immoral precepts, or *real* contradictions, we should justly deem them sufficient to invalidate its truth, and to destroy its pretensions. It is precisely on this ground that we prove the non-inspiration of the Koran of Mohammed, lofty as are its pretensions, much as it is extolled, and widely as it is received by the followers of the wily Arab. For the same reason, the *apparent* contradictions in the Christian Scriptures have been a favourite topic of cavil with the enemies of divine revelation, from Spinosa down to Voltaire, and the puny herd of infidels of our own day, who have servilely copied their objections.

There is another point of view in which the superlative

importance of internal evidence is clearly evinced—its universal adaptation to persons of every rank and character, whether learned or illiterate. It comes home to the judgment and conscience of every man, and leaves infidels of every description without excuse. No transcendent talent, no depth of learning is required to apprehend its nature, and to appreciate its force. The talent required is possessed by every intelligent creature—the capability of comparing one thing with another, and drawing an inference; and the only learning requisite, is a knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures. A man of plain, common sense, with the sacred volume in his hand, is fully qualified to understand and decide on every argument which may be adduced respecting its internal evidence. Of such a man, if he honestly examines this evidence, accompanied with humble and fervent prayer for the illumination of that Spirit by whom the Scriptures claim to be indited, it may justly be affirmed, in the language of a distinguished prelate, on a kindred subject, that “the whole compass of abstruse philosophy, and recondite history, shall furnish no argument with which the perverse will of man shall be able to shake this learned Christian’s faith.”

Of the various species of internal evidence, that which arises from the *undesigned* coincidences between the sacred books, appears the most convincing and satisfactory, and least liable to objections. It was first developed, in the most able manner, by the late Dr. Paley, in his “*Horæ Paulinæ; or the Truth of the Scripture History of St. Paul evinced by a comparison of the Epistles which bear his name with the Acts of the Apostles, and with one another.*” It is upon the plan of this judicious and excellent work, that the following papers are drawn up; and to it the reader is referred for a full and clear exposition of the argument. The several instances of agreement, to adopt the statements of that able writer, are disposed under separate numbers, not only to mark more sensibly the divisions of the subject, but also to remind the reader that they are independent of each other, and complete of themselves. Nothing has been advanced which did not appear probable, but the degree of probability by which different instances are supported is undoubtedly very different. If the reader, therefore, meets with a number which contains an instance that appears to

him unsatisfactory, or founded on mistake, he will dismiss that number from the argument, but without prejudice to any other. He will also please to remember this word *undesignedness*, as denoting that upon which the construction and validity of our argument chiefly depend; and which, it is hoped, will be sufficiently apparent from the instances themselves, and the separate remarks with which they are accompanied. It should also be observed, that the more *oblique* or *intricate* the comparison of a coincidence may be the more *circuitous* the investigation is, the better; because the agreement which finally results is thereby further removed from the suspicion of contrivance, affectation, or design. And it should be remembered, concerning these coincidences, that it is one thing to be minute and another to be precarious; one thing to be unobserved, and another to be obscure; one thing to be circuitous or oblique, and another to be forced, dubious, or fanciful. These are distinctions which ought to be always retained in our thoughts.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW.

No. I.—Chap. x. 2—4.

“Now the names of the twelve apostles are these; the first, Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip, and Bartholomew; Thomas, and Matthew the publican; James the son of Alphaeus, and Lebbeus, whose surname was Thaddeus; Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him.”

In this passage the twelve apostles are enumerated in *pairs*; a mode of arrangement adopted by no other evangelist, though the same order is in some measure preserved. The reason for the adoption of such an arrangement is not immediately obvious. Consanguinity might justly be assigned as the cause in the cases of Simon Peter and Andrew his brother, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, and James the son of Alphaeus and Lebbeus or Thaddeus, also called Judas the brother of James (Luke vi. 16.); and if Bartholomew be the same with Nathaniel, as some have supposed, he might with propriety be associated with his friend Philip, who first introduced him to a knowledge of the Saviour. John i. 43—46. But there appears no reason why Thomas, a fisherman of Galilee (John xxi. 1—13.),

should be united with Matthew the publican ; nor why Simon the Canaanite, or Zelotes (i. e. the Zealous, Luke vi. 15.) should be associated with Judas Iscariot, the betrayer of our Lord.

If it be said, that as there were but four of the Apostles who remained to be classed, it was immaterial which of the two possible modes of arrangement were adopted, and that there might be no reason why the present one was chosen, the possibility is readily conceded : though apart from every other consideration, it seems more probable, that the association of persons so different in their ordinary avocations as Thomas and Matthew, and so dissimilar in their characters as Simon Zelotes and Judas Iscariot, was not a fortuitous circumstance, but the effect of choice, grounded upon some determinate reason of preference. In fact, it appears, that neither consanguinity nor friendship, nor yet the blind direction of chance, was the proximate cause of this arrangement ; for Simon, who was the third son of Alpheus, and brother of James and Lebbeus or Judas, (Matt. xiii. 55.) is disjoined from them, and united with Judas Iscariot, in consequence of this mode of arranging in pairs having been adopted. A circumstance, however, related by St. Mark, we conceive, furnishes us with the true reason why St. Matthew has thus enumerated them. He relates, that our Lord having "called unto him the twelve," "began to send them forth by *two* and *two*." (Mark vi. 7.) From this statement we at once clearly perceive why St. Matthew should have thus arranged them in *pairs*. It also satisfactorily accounts for every circumstance connected with this arrangement ; our Lord having, as a pious man remarks, "united by *grace* those who were before united by *nature* ; and intending, perhaps, to counteract the timidity and unbelief of Thomas by the firmness and faith of Matthew, and the worldly-mindedness of Judas Iscariot, by the zealous fervour of Simon.

Now this minute and striking coincidence between the accounts of these Evangelists, appears on the very face of it, to be wholly undesigned ; and consequently, clearly proves that they wrote independently of each other, and establishes the truth of their respective relations. Had St. Mark possessed a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, and merely abridged his larger history, as some have imagined, it can scarcely be conceived that he would have concluded from St. Matthew's

arrangement that our Saviour sent out his twelve apostles "two and two;" and, if we can suppose that he could have inferred this, yet it is highly improbable that he would have been content with merely stating the fact, without giving the order in which they were sent out. But, so far from this being the case, where he does enumerate the Apostles, he not only does *not* arrange them in pairs, but differs materially in the order of the names; interposing James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, between Simon Peter, and Andrew his brother, adding, that our Lord called the former two "Boanerges, which is, the sons of thunder," and placing Matthew before Thomas. (Mark iii 16—18.) On the other hand, if St. Matthew had had St. Mark's gospel before him, (which, we believe, has never been imagined,) it will scarcely be supposed that he drew up his arrangement of the Apostles from the simple assertion of St. Mark, that Jesus sent out his disciples "two and two;" or, that, if he did so, he would omit, as he does, the statement of the fact. As, therefore, neither of these suppositions can be admitted, it must be inferred, that each of these sacred writers wrote independently of the other, and related in their own manner the circumstances of an act with which they were well acquainted; and the reality of which cannot consequently be questioned, being thus confirmed by two writers who agree respecting it in the most minute and undesigned particulars.

London.

W. G.

The Inquisition, From *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*. Oct. and Nov. 1827.

The Inquisition was given into the hands of the Dominicans about 1217. It was more fully authenticated and formed in 1227, in the Pontificate of Gregory IX., who had been the protector of Dominic. It was introduced into Spain in 1232, which from that time became its chief seat. In 1486 a new model of the Inquisition was sanctioned by Innocent VIII; a royal council was created; its inferior tribunals received authority; a new code of horrible laws began; and, with Torquemada at its head, the Inquisition of Spain, the most powerful of European kingdoms, and about

to assume the sovereignty of the new world, planted its branches in the most remote dependencies of the empire, and became the scourge of mankind.

The slaughters committed by the Inquisition are now beyond any accurate calculation; but they stand a fearful rivalry with the most prodigal expenditure of blood by war. The tribunal went on its course of plunder, imprisonment, torture, and burning, for six hundred years! During the last century, the common feeling of mankind had so far penetrated even within the walls of the Inquisition, that the chief cruelties were kept from the public eye. Yet a Nun was burnt alive by the Spanish Inquisition so late as the year 1781. But what calculation of the slain can give us the true estimate of the evil, the myriads of the broken hearts of orphans, widows, parents deprived of their children, families banished and beggared; the life of perpetual fear in the presence of a tribunal against which no man at any hour was secure; in whose hands torture, death, or an imprisonment of a length and severity that made after-life useless, and from which no man came, but as hardly escaped from the grave? And what are we to think of the religion that could create, sanction, and triumph in this tribunal? What of the abject and desperate prostration of mind which that religion must labour to produce, before it could venture to lay the weight of Inquisition on the world? What of the hideous repulsion of all the principles of Christianity, in the establishment of this formal and cold-blooded system of murder? We may presumptuously doubt, if we will, the Scripture that declares the existence and hostility of the evil spirit; but on what other conception can human reason account for the horrors of the Inquisition? We are driven back to the revealed word, and forced to see, in this triumph of torture and death, a cruelty beyond man, the form of the Fiend enveloped and enthroned in the circle of agony and flame.

The spiritual supremacy of Rome had, almost in the moment of its birth, been disowned, even in Italy. The arch-diocese of Milan, consisting of the seven provinces, Liguria, Æmilia, Flaminia, Venetia, the Cottain and Greek Alps, and Rhetia or the Grisons, the ancient government of the Lieutenant of the Western Prætorian Præfect, had

long pursued their own ritual, and established the Ambrosian Liturgy.

But their first open separation from Rome was in the year 553. It became still more distinct in 590, when nine of the bishops rejected the communion of the Pope as a heretic, and refused obedience to the command of the Emperor Mauritius to be present at a council at Rome, denying that they could communicate with Gregory the First.

A. D. 817. The Prelates of the Milanese had struggled, at the council of Frankfort, against the general corruption of Papacy. But an eminent man suddenly arose to embody their resistance, and to take the lead equally in enlightening the church, and breaking down the Romish supremacy. Claudius, a Spaniard, had been one of the Chaplains of Lewis the Pious; who, on his accession to the German empire, had appointed this able and learned man to the bishopric of Turin. The rank was high, for Turin was a metropolitan see; though the title of Archbishop was not yet introduced. The Romish idolatry had made rapid advances in the north of Italy; and the appointment of Claudius was the honourable testimony to talents and virtues which made him the fittest champion of the truth. He instantly unsheathed that only legitimate and irresistible sword, which is put into human hands by the Spirit; he spread the Scriptures. He wrote for the people successive explanations of Genesis, St. Matthew, the Epistle to the Galatians, the Ephesians, Exodus, and Leviticus. The chief points of his teaching were all in direct opposition to the Papal theology. He declared that,

Christ is the only Head of the Church;—the Apostles were all equal,—and the only primacy of St. Peter consisted in his having had the sacred honour of founding the Church among the Jews and Gentiles;—the Romish doctrine of merits is altogether unfounded in Scripture;—tradition in religion is of no value;—man is to be saved only by faith in the Saviour's sacrifice;—the church among men is liable to error;—prayers for the dead are useless;—image-worship is sin.

The reputation and doctrines of this great man soon spread through Italy, and even into Spain. The Papal court, not yet daring to persecute the favoured Bishop of the Emperor, turned its pen upon him; and the chief me-

imonials of his opinions are now to be found in the writings of his adversaries. But even in those suspicious depositories, they exhibit a manliness and vigour which realize the character of the man. He had broken the images in his diocese, and had written, in defence of this bold proceeding, a treatise against image-worship, pilgrimages, and the adoration of saints and relics, &c. Its force distinguishes it strikingly from the loose and heavy perplexity of the old controversial style.

“But, mark what the followers of the false religion and superstition allege: they say, it is in commemoration and honour of our Saviour, that they serve, honour, and adore the Cross. They witness thereby that they perceive of Him only what the wicked perceived, whether Jews or Heathens, who do not see his resurrection, nor consider him but as altogether swallowed up by death; unminding what the Apostle saith, ‘We know Jesus Christ no longer, according to the flesh.’

“God commands one thing, and those people do the direct contrary. God commands us to bear our cross, and *not to worship it*. But those are all for worshipping it; whereas they do not bear it at all.

“If we ought to adore the Cross because Christ was fastened to it, how many other things are there which touched Christ? Did he not remain nine months in the virgin’s womb? Why not then, on the same ground, worship all virgins, because a virgin brought forth Jesus Christ? Why not adore mangers and old clouts, because he was laid in a manger, and wrapped in swaddling clothes? Why not adore fisher-boats, because he slept in one of them, and preached to a multitude, and caused a net to be cast out, wherewith was caught a miraculous quantity of fish? Why not adore asses, because he entered Jerusalem upon the foal of an ass? And lambs, because it is written of him, ‘Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world?’ Yet those men would rather eat lambs than worship their images! Why not worship lions, because he is called ‘the Lion of the tribe of Judah?’ or rocks, because it is said, ‘And the Rock was Christ?’ Or thorns, because he was crowned with them? Or lances, because one of them pierced his side?

"All these things are ridiculous, and rather to be lamented, than to be written. But we are forced to write them in opposition to fools; and to declaim against those hearts of stone which the arrows and sentences of the word of God cannot pierce. Come to yourselves again, ye miserable transgressors; why are ye gone astray from the truth? And why, being become vain, are ye fallen in love with vanity? Why do ye crucify the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame?

"We know well that this passage of the Gospel is very ill understood; 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven:' under the pretence of which words the stupid and ignorant people, destitute of all spiritual knowledge, betake themselves to Rome, in hopes of obtaining eternal life. For the ministry belongs to all the true Superintendants and Pastors of the church; who discharge the same, as long as they are in this world: and when they have paid the debt of death, others succeed to their places, who enjoy the same authority and power.

"Return, O ye blind, to your light; return to him who enlightens every man that cometh into the world! If we must believe God when he promiseth, how much more when he swears, and saith that if Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, that is, if the Saints whom you call upon were endued with as great holiness, as great righteousness, and as much merit as those were, they shall deliver neither son nor daughter. And it is for this end that he makes this declaration; viz. That none might put their confidence in either the merits or the intercession of Saints. Ye fools, when will ye be wise; ye who run to Rome to seek there the intercession of an Apostle?

"The fifth thing with which you reproach me is, that it displeaseth you that the Apostolic Lord (for so you are pleased to call Pope Paschal deceased) had honoured me with this charge. But, forasmuch as the words, '*Apostolicus dicitur quasi Apostoli custos*,' may intimate as much as the Apostle's keeper; know that he only is Apostolic, who is the guardian and keeper of the Apostle's doctrine; and not he who boasts himself to be seated in the chair of the Apostle, and in the mean time doth not acquit himself of

the charge of the apostle ; for the Lord saith, ‘The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses’ chair.’”

Those who have glanced over the dreary volumes of the Romish apologists will best feel the wonder of this noble vigour in the ninth century, the spirit of eloquence and life which is administered by the defence of the truth of God. The mind that then could pour out this lofty and hallowed reprobation of Idolatry and Rome, was visibly touched by the coal from the altar.

But the increasing temporal power of the Papacy, and the blind submission with which the German Emperors lent themselves to the violences of Rome, gradually destroyed the independence of the Milanese Church. The Scriptures perished, or were borne away with the exiled Christians to the valleys of the Alps; and the seven provinces were added to the gigantic diocese of Rome.

The last embers of the faith in Italy had been scattered, and the Popedom had turned to its secondary work of territorial aggrandizement, when the flame was discovered to have been rekindled in the Alps. Persecution was let loose upon the people of the valleys, and a multitude were driven to take refuge in the southern provinces of France. Under the protection of the Count of Thoulouse, and the principal lords of the south, their converts multiplied, until they amounted to so large a number, that the Papal order, commanding their expulsion, found the Count Raymond determined to support the cause of the Albigenses.*

In the year 1160, Peter, surnamed Waldensis, (of the valleys,) a Barbe,† or Preacher of the Vaudois, had come into France, distributing the Scriptures, and converting the people of Provence to the faith. But the origin of the Vaudois system of doctrines was known to be even then of great antiquity. There are extant copies of their Belief, dated A. D. 1100. The inquisitor, Reinerius Sacco, computed it to be five hundred years old. He might have justly ascended still higher, and placed it in the age of the Apostles. The first effort of the Papal Missionaries was,

* The name was not general, till after the Council of Albi, 1254. It was given from the principal district of the Reformed, (Albi being the chief city,) which lay between the Garonne and the Rhone.

† Barbe is uncle in the Vaudois dialect, a name of affection given to the Preachers.

to calumniate the doctrines; the next, to destroy the people. The Waldenses were charged with Manichæism. Their creed is the irresistible proof of the utter futility of this charge.

The Manichees, an Asiatic sect, who had risen in the third century, totally perverted the Gospel, by mingling it with the fabulous and metaphysical corruptions of the East. They held two eternal principles, a good and an evil. They rejected the entire of the Old Testament, and nearly the entire of the New. They condemned marriage. They conceived the creation of the earth and man to have been the work of the evil principle. They denied free-will. They denied the mortal existence of our Lord, his death, and his resurrection. They denied the resurrection of the body. They rejected baptism; they rejected the cup in the communion.*

The creed of the Waldenses must be taken not from the Romish Divines, who alternately slaughtered and libelled them, but from their own public expositions at the time. From those documents it appears incontestably, that they received the whole Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and those alone;—they believed in one Mediator between God and man, and denied the mediation and worship of saints—they believed in the hope of eternal life, only through the sacrifice of the Lord Christ, and without purgatory;—they allowed of but two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper;—they denied the efficacy of the Mass, tradition as equal to or fit to be associated with the authority of Scripture, and the scriptural necessity or suitability of the fasts, feasts, and general hierarchy of the Romish Church.†

It is evident that those are the doctrines of Scripture, and that they are equally and irreconcilably opposed to Manichæism and Romanism. But it was the Popish outcry of the day. The denial of transubstantiation was pronounced to be a denial of the Lord's real existence,—Manichæism. The refusal to worship the Virgin and the Cross, was pronounced to be a denial of the actual birth of Christ, and of his crucifixion,—Manichæism. But the charge was useful to involve the Reformed in the persecution of those unfortunate enthusiasts. The decrees of the eastern and

western Monarchs had already gone forth against the Marichees; and it required only to combine the Christians in the scandal, to combine them in the execution.

Yet it is unquestionable, that some extraordinary sects were generated from the sudden freedom of the Scriptures. Opinions started forth, whose extravagance excited the pity and astonishment of the Christian. The first burst of light is often too strong for the eye accustomed to darkness; the consciousness of liberty has often maddened the prisoner; and there is no instance of a revival of religion in which the truth has not been humiliated by those sectarian wanderings, which prove at once the ardour of the human heart, and the weakness of the human understanding: Beghards, Cathari, Arnoldists, Free Brethren, and a crowd of enthusiasts, nameless, or named only in contempt, scattered themselves through Europe. But the evil was transient. They had the Scriptures in their hands. The word of sacred soberness subdued their extravagance, while it confirmed their Christian fortitude. They went out like colonists of the desert; but they gradually softened down into civilization; and some of the noblest seeds of the church were sown by these bold and irregular hands.

The preaching of the Waldenses was the era of the Reformation. Wickliffe, Luther, and Calvin, were but the successors of the Barbes, in a nobler and more fortunate time. Literature, civil freedom, the balance of the European governments, were the splendid auxiliaries that made their triumph at once comparatively easy and secure. The art of printing, that scarcely less than miracle, went before them like the pillar of fire through the wilderness; and the rest was conquest and possession by the command of Heaven.

The efforts of Rome to crush the infant Church, showed how keenly she felt her danger. A general rescript was issued by Innocent III., to all the Lords of the south, to the French king, and to the nation, to take up arms against the Reformed. A crusade was proclaimed, with the promise of the privileges, temporal, and spiritual, hitherto confined to those who fought for the recovery of Jerusalem.* An army of half a million of men marched under the papal ban-

* Ranken Vol. III.

ner, led by the Abbot of the Cistercians. Count Raymond was overwhelmed by this flood of desperate fanaticism. He was forgiven only on the insulting conditions, of standing naked to the shirt at the gate of the cathedral; prostrating himself at the feet of the Legate; and taking the cross against his own people.

But the sword must be fed. Raymond the nephew of the Count, himself Lord of an extensive territory, had refused to abandon his subjects to the mercy of the Pope. The whole weight of the crusade was flung upon him. Beziers, his capital, was stormed, and its twenty-three thousand inhabitants were put to the sword. On this occasion was uttered one of those memorably ferocious expressions which pass into portraitures of men and their times. Some hesitation had arisen before the assault, as to the fate of the Romish inhabitants who might have remained in town. "Kill all," was the comprehensive answer of the Abbot; "God will find out who belongs to him."

The Count of Thoulouse was at length forced into the field. His nephew had been taken prisoner, and was dead. Simon de Montfort, a man of blood, had resolved on the seizure of Raymond's territory, and entered it with fire and sword. But the whole south suddenly rose against him; he was defeated; and the war became fierce, general, and doubtful. The south was covered with slaughter; the deaths of the Albigeos were often sternly repaid. De Montfort was killed in 1218, at the siege of Thoulouse. Count Raymond died, and, dying, left his wrongs, and more than his resolution, to his son. But the whole power of France, headed by Lewis VIII., at length closed upon him; and, in 1229, hostilities ended by a treaty, which merged the territory of the Counts of Thoulouse in the royal dominions. The war cost a million of lives.

In our fortunate country the power of the Romish Church has so long perished, that we find some difficulty in conceiving the nature, and still more in believing the tyranny, of its dominion. The influence of Monks, and the murders of the inquisition, have passed into a nursery tale; and we turn with a generous, yet rash and most unjustifiable, scepticism from the history of Romish authority.

Through almost the entire of Italy, through the Flemish dominions of Germany, through a large portion of France, and

through the entire of Spain, a great monastic body was established ; which, professing a secondary and trivial obedience to the sovereign, gave its first and real obedience to the Pope. The name of spiritual homage cloaked the high-treason of an oath of allegiance to a foreign monarch ; and whoever might be king of France, or Spain, the Pope was king of the Dominicans. All the other monastic orders were so many Papal outposts. But the great Dominican Order, immensely opulent in its pretended poverty ; formidably powerful in its hypocritical disdain of earthly influence ; and remorselessly ambitious, turbulent, and cruel in its primitive zeal ; was an actual lodgment and province of the Papacy, an inferior Rome, in the chief European kingdoms.

In the closest imitation of Rome, this spiritual power had fiercely assumed the temporal sword ; the Inquisition was army, revenues, and throne, in one. With the racks and fires of a tribunal worthy of the gulf of darkness and guilt from which it rose, the Dominicans bore Popery in triumph through Christendom, crushing every vestige of religion under the wheels of its colossal idol. The subjugation of the Albigenses 1229, had scattered the Church ; the shock of the great military masses was past ; a subtler and more active force was required to destroy the wandering people of God ; and the Inquisition multiplied itself for the work of death. This terrible tribunal set every principle, and even every form, of justice at defiance. Secrecy that confounds innocence with guilt, was the spirit of its whole proceeding. All its steps were in darkness. The suspected revolter from Popery was seized in secret, tried in secret ; never suffered to see the face of accuser, witness, advocate, or friend ; was kept unacquainted with the charge, was urged to criminate himself ; if tardy, was compelled to this self-murder by the rack ; if terrified, was only the more speedily murdered for the sport of the multitude. From the hour of his seizure he never saw the face of day, until he was brought out as a public show, a loyal and festal sacrifice, to do honour to some travelling Viceroy, some new-married princess, or, on more fortunate occasions, to the presence of the Sovereign. The dungeons were then drained, the human wreck of the torture and the scourge were gathered out of darkness, groupes of misery and exhaustion with wasted forms and broken limbs, and countenances subdued by pain and famine into idiotism, and despair, and madness, to feed the

fires round which the Dominicans were chaunting the glories of Popery, and exulting in the destruction of the body for the good of the soul!

But there were instances in which the power of truth gave vigour to the dying moments, and the victim put his torturers to shame. Of those but one shall be alluded to, from its comprehending the chief features of those dreadful sacrifices. On the return of Philip II. from Flanders in 1559, by Valladolid, the Inquisition of the city determined to give their King the highest indulgence of his nature and of their religion. The whole pomp of the Spanish court was displayed,—the King, his son, his sister, the Prince of Parma, three Ambassadors, a crowd of Dukes, Commanders of military orders, Bishops, Grandees, women of rank, with the tribunals, councils, and other authorities; and, as the Grand Master of the ceremonies, the Archbishop of Seville, Inquisitor-General. The first martyr was Don Carlos de Seso, a nobleman of Verona, son of the Bishop of Placenza, distinguished for learning, an eminent servant of Charles V., and a Judge. The German Reformation had converted him, and he had devoted himself to spreading the Gospel; he was seized, thrown into a secret prison, and after a confinement of a year and a half, was suddenly told that he was to die. He called for pen and paper, and wrote his belief, which was completely scriptural. He said that “the belief of the Church of Rome was corrupted for centuries; that he would die in the faith of the Gospel; and that he offered himself to God in memory of the sufferings of Christ.” “It would be difficult,” says the narrator, himself a Spaniard, a Priest, and an Inquisitor, “to express the vigour and energy of his writing, which filled two sheets of paper.”*

De Seso's conversion was attempted twice that night by the Monks; but he was firm, and his manliness was so much dreaded, that he was brought to the pile gagged, lest he should preach to the people. As he was fastened to the stake, a last effort was made to convert or to disgrace him: he was exhorted to acknowledge Popery. To this insult he replied, with noble constancy, and in a firm and uplifted voice, “If I had time, I should convince you that you are

* Illorente. Hist. Inquis.

lost by not following my example. Now be quick, and light the wood that is to burn me." The pile was lighted, and he died.

In the original establishment of the inquisition in 1198, it had raged against the Vaudois and their converts. But the victims were exhausted, or not worth the pursuit of a tribunal which looked to the wealth as keenly as to the faith of the persecuted. Opulence and heresy were at length to be found only in Spain; and there the Inquisition turned with a gigantic step. In the early disturbances in the Peninsula, the Jews, by those habits of trade, and mutual communion, which still make them the lords of commerce, had acquired the chief wealth of the country. The close of the Moorish war in the fifteenth century had left the Spanish monarch at leisure for extortion; and he grasped at the Jewish gains in the spirit of a robber, as he pursued his plunder with the cruelty of a barbarian. The Inquisition was the great machine, the comprehensive torturer, ready to squeeze out the heart and the gold. In 1481, an edict was issued against the Jews; before the end of the year, in the single diocese of Cadiz, two thousand Jews were burned alive! The fall of the kingdom of Grenada, in 1492, threw the whole of the Spanish Moors into the hands of the King. They were cast into the same furnace of plunder and torture. Desperate rebellions followed; they were defeated, and, in 1609, were finally exiled. "In the space of one hundred and twenty-nine years, the Inquisition deprived Spain of three millions of inhabitants."*

In the death of Leo X., in 1521, Adrian, the Inquisitor-General, was elected Pope. He had laid the foundations of his Papal celebrity in Spain. "It appears according to the most moderate calculation, that during the five years of the ministry of Adrian, twenty four thousand and twenty-five persons were condemned by the Inquisition; of whom one thousand six hundred and twenty were burned alive."†

In 1517, Luther began to preach the Gospel. The earliest violences of the Inquisition had been directed to the Bible; and the edict of the Council of Thoulouse, in 1229, had forbidden the laity to read it in their own tongue. The

* Llorente

† Ibid.

Bible, thus shut up in a dead language, had passed away from the hands of man, or was retained only by refugees at the hazard of their lives. Luther had at length found it, and flashed this living torch of light and hope in the eyes of Popedom. The Inquisition was instantly up in arms. All the translated Scriptures, all the commentaries suspected of the pollution of a protestant pen, were prohibited. But the rage was not confined to Lutheran translations. The Bible itself was the enemy, in whatever language. The oriental professors, in the chief seat of Spanish theology, Salamanca, were commanded, on pain of excommunication, to give up their Greek and Hebrew Bibles to the Holy Office! In the year 1558, the terrible "law" of Philip II. was published, which decreed confiscation and *death* for all who should sell, buy, keep, or read, any of the books prohibited by the Holy Office.* Even penitents at confession were compelled to denounce the transgressors of the edict; and in this hideous aggravation of tyranny, which turned a professed act of religion into an act of blood and armed child and parent against the life of each other, the Pope was a fellow conspirator with the King and the Inquisition: the law was sanctioned by a bull issued in 1559.

This was an era of activity. An additional document of the utter darkness and slavery of conscience demanded by Popery, was furnished in the ordinance of Valdez, the Inquisitor-General, in the same year. His "catalogue" prohibited "all Hebrew books, and those in other tongues treating of the Jewish customs; all Arabic, or treating of Mahometanism; all works written or translated by a Heretic, or an individual condemned by the Holy Office; all works in Spanish with a preface, letter, glossary, comment, &c. by a Heretic; all unpublished MSS., sermons, writings, treatises on Christianity, its sacraments, and its Scriptures," &c. "Such is the age," says Perez del Prado, the successor of Valdez, "that some men have carried their audacity to the *execrable extremity* of demanding permission to *read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue*, without fearing to encounter *mortal poison therein*."

The Inquisition claimed independent authority and was

already too strong for even the Pope. Sixtus V., a wild and tyrannic man, but a scholar, in one of those fits of eccentricity, which in such men sometimes strike across the whole settled order of things, had published an Italian Bible. The Spanish world was on flame. The Cardinals of Spain demanded the King's interposition against this inconceivable breach of the constitutional law of Popery. From the time of Leo X., by the index of the Council, and by the Inquisitions of Rome and Madrid, all works of doctrine in the vulgar tongue had been prohibited. Philip ordered his ambassador, Olivarez, to remonstrate with the Pope on the fatal effects of publishing the Scriptures. Sixtus furious alike in good and ill, threatened to hang Olivarez on the spot. But his resistance was subdued in a more noiseless way, familiar to the land of absolutions and Inquisitions. The Pope was poisoned and the poison was said to have been administered by order of the King. The Sixtine Bible was condemned.

The Holy Office was now the dictator of Europe. No matter what was in the field, it fell before the mace of the Inquisition. The eight Bishops, and nine Doctors of Theology, sent by Spain to the Council of Trent, as the élite of her scholarship and Church, were all seized by the Tribunal on the moment of their return. The sound of the Lutheran preaching was presumed to have polluted their allegiance to the infallibility of Rome, and persecution. The Archbishop of Toledo, the first ecclesiastic of Spain, the celebrated Carranza, was cast into prison, and died after a confinement of eighteen years, and a trial of nearly the same duration.* But Popery had a still higher mark. Neither the most eminent rank, nor even the most unhallowed zeal, could be a shield against the all-grasping ambition of Rome : Charles V., the greatest monarch of Europe, and Philip II., the darkest of all bigots, were struck by the same blow.

It is the constant sophism of those who would cast Christianity bound hand and foot at the mercy of her enemies, that the Pope desires to exercise no interference in the internal concerns of kingdoms ; that if he had the desire, he has not the power ; he would be resisted by the whole body

* The documents fill twenty-four volumes in folio, of from a 1000 to 1200 pages each.

of the national Clergy. For the exposure of this traitorous delusion, we are to look to the times when it was the will of Popery to put forth its strength ; not to the present, when it is its will to lull us into a belief of its consistency with the constitution, in defiance of common sense, common experience, the spirit of British law, and the loud warnings of insulted and hazarded religion.

In 1555 Paul IV. was raised to the Papal throne. Ambitious of forming a house among the Italian Princes, he determined to overthrow the Emperor and his son. At the age of seventy-nine, he plunged into negotiations with France, for the invasion of Italy, Sicily, and the empire ; and prepared bulls of excommunication against Charles as a heretic, and favourer of heretics, depriving him of the imperial crown, and his son of the kingdom of Naples ; and further releasing the people of Spain, Italy, and Germany, from their oaths of allegiance.

Charles, feeling his danger, collected the opinions of the famous Melchior Cano, and other Jurists, to sustain him against the anathema. They decided that it was lawful to resist the Papal ordinances. The Pope ordered the Jurists to be seized by the Inquisition. His order was sustained by almost the whole body of the Spanish Prelates, with the Archbishop, who had been Philip's preceptor, at their head. They obeyed their Master, and rebelled against the king.

Philip, then in England, wrote upon this occasion to his sister, the Regent of Spain, a letter remarkable for its relation to the English Protestantism. "Since I informed you of the conduct of the Pope," says he, "and of the news from Rome, I have learnt that his Holiness purposes to excommunicate the Emperor and me ; to put my States under an interdict, and to prohibit divine service. Having consulted learned men on the subject, it appears that it is only an abuse of the power of the sovereign Pontiff, founded on hatred and passion, certainly not provoked by our conduct ; but that we are not obliged to submit in respect of our persons on account of the great scandal which would be caused by our confessing ourselves guilty, and the great sin we should commit in so doing. In consequence, it has been decided, that if I am interdicted from certain things, I am not obliged to deprive myself of them, as those who are ex-

communicated; though a censure may be sent to me from Rome, according to the disposition of his Holiness. *For after having destroyed the sects in England, brought the country under the influence of the Church pursued and punished the heretics without ceasing, and obtained a success which has been constant, I see that his Holiness evidently wishes to ruin my kingdom.*"* The letter concludes with forbidding the reception of the rescripts in Spain.†

Paul IV. had tempted the French King to war; but the ruinous battle of St. Quintin, in 1557, broke up the league; and the Pope was left to the wrath of the Duke of Alva, who marched from his vice-royalty of Naples full on Rome. Alva habitually forgot his superstition when he put on his sword; and would have made a memorable example of the hoary disturber, who now deserted by every ally. was crouching at his feet. But Philip restrained the indignant grandee; made a treaty with the Pope on lenient terms, and once more put the chain round his own neck. Within less than six months, Paul flung the treaty and its author into public contempt, by an edict to the Spanish Inquisitor, to revive all his orders against heretics of every rank, "including *Princes, Kings and Emperors.*" The names of Charles and Philip were not pronounced, but it was notorious that the brand was for their foreheads.

Of the multitudes who perished by the Inquisition throughout the world, no authentic record is now discoverable. But wherever Popery had power there was the tribunal. It had been planted even in the East; and the Portuguese Inquisition of Goa was, till within these few years, fed with many an agony. South America was partitioned into

* It is a striking exemplification of the honesty of this religion of the Jesuit and the Monk, that while Philip was laying up this store of merit with Rome, by secretly stimulating the persecution of the English Protestants, he was publicly the abhorer of all violence. In the midst of the burnings of Smithfield, his Confessor, Alphonso di Castro, was ordered to mount the pulpit, and exonerate his master. The Monk's sermon on the 10th of February, 1555, was a model of charity; he asked, "How is it possible that any human being, much less any Christian, can desire to force conviction? How is the sword compatible with human reason," &c. The whole nation wondered, but were still incredulous. Philip's letter has unfortunately escaped the diligence of the English champions of Popery!

• Llorente

provinces of the Inquisition; and with a ghastly mimicry of the crimes of the mother state, the arrivals of Viceroy's, and the other popular celebrations, were thought imperfect without an Auto-da-fe. The Netherlands were one scene of slaughter from the time of the decree which planted the Inquisition among them. In Spain the calculation is more attainable. Each of the *seventeen* tribunals, during a long period, burned annually, on an average, ten miserable beings! We are to recollect that this number was in a country where persecution had for ages abolished all religious differences, and where the difficulty was not to find the stake, but the offspring. Yet, even in Spain, thus gleaned of all heresy, the Inquisition could still swell its list of murders to thirty two-thousand! The numbers burned in effigy, or condemned to penance, punishments generally equivalent to exile, confiscation, and taint of blood, to all ruin but the mere loss of a worthless life, amounted to three hundred and nine thousand.* but the crowds who perished in dungeons, of the torture, of confinement, and of broken hearts; the millions of dependant lives made utterly helpless, or hurried to the grave by the death of the victims, are beyond all register: or recorded only before Him who hath sworn that "He who leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity; and he that killeth with the sword, shall be killed with the sword." (Rev. xiii. 10)

Such was the Inquisition, at once the offspring and the image of the Popedom. To feel the force of the parentage, we must look for the time. In the thirteenth century, the Popedom was at the summit of mortal dominion; it was independent of all kingdoms; it ruled with a rank of influence never before or since possessed by a human sceptre; it was the acknowledged sovereign of body and soul; to all earthly intents its power was immeasurable for good or evil. It might have spread literature, peace, freedom, and Christianity to the ends of Europe, or the world. But its nature was hostile; its fuller triumph only disclosed its fuller evil; and, to the shame of human reason, and the terror and suffering of human virtue, Rome in the hour of its consummate grandeur, teemed with the monstrous and horrid birth of the Inquisition!—

Amidst the tumults of France, in the year 1588, Spain had grown powerful beyond rivalry; and with her power, by the inevitable law of Popish States, had grown her religious cruelty. She was now to feel in a single blow the guilt of the Inquisition. England, raised to be the head of Protestantism, was marked out by Philip II. for vengeance. "The point," says the historian, "on which he rested his highest glory, the perpetual object of his policy, was to support [Popish] orthodoxy and exterminate heresy; and as the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwark of the Protestants, he hoped, if he could subdue the Princes to acquire the eternal renown of re-uniting the whole Christian world in the [Roman] Catholic communion."* The "Invincible Armada" was launched. Its building had occupied the treasures and the labours of the Spanish empire for three years. Troops from Italy, Germany, Flanders and Spain, were embarked, or sent to the points from which they might be thrown on England. The Spanish nobles volunteered. Men of the highest rank in the Popish realms solicited employment; the first sea officer of the age, the Marquis Santa Croce, whose very name seemed an omen, commanded the fleet; the first General of the age, the Prince of Parma, marched the Spanish army, thirty-four thousand of the most celebrated troops in Europe, down to the Flemish shore for the invasion. The fleet numbered one hundred and thirty ships of war, carrying thirty thousand troops and seamen. But it had a darker freight of Monks, Papal Bulls, and instruments of torture.

The heroism of England in that time of trial deserves a place among the noblest recollections of a land of liberty and valour. But even then the victory was felt to belong to a higher arm. The war was the assault, less of Spain than of Rome, against England; of religious tyranny against religious freedom; of sullen imposture, and sanguinary persecution, against Christianity. The inquisition not satiated with its dominion over the land, had lately usurped the sea. A tribunal was established on board the Spanish fleets.† England conquered would have been not simply the appanage of Spain, and involved in the general mis-

* Hume, vol. v. p. 331.

† Chandler's Hist. of Persecution.

government, beggary, and ignorance of the native kingdom of sloth and superstition ; it would have been the especial conquest of the Inquisition ; the very victim which Monks had longed, above all others, to lay bare, and cut to the heart ; a vast untasted prey for the burning jaws on which the gore of the continent had begun to dry. The zeal of Philip would have then found bolder witness than a letter. The Inquisition would have disdained the hypocrisy of the secret rack. The whole Popish vengeance would have been fearlessly developed in the death of law, liberty and religion. The Dominican would have sat upon the British throne ; and sat in robes, crimson with the blood of all that was generous, and brave, and learned, and holy in the land. Rome would be all in all. England would be a funeral pile.

But, if in that hour the veil were taken from the eyes of man, he would, like the servant of the Prophet, have seen England guarded by the horses and chariots of fire. Wreck, burning and capture,—man, and the elements,—were let loose upon the gigantic force that had come to defy the living God. The Armada was undone : and with it the crown of Spain was cloven. The intrinsic strength of Spain made decay tardy ; but it was inevitable : and from the day of her defeat by England, she was marked for the alternate prize and victim of European power.—*Croly.*

THE
Life of Kant,
BY PROFESSOR STAPFER OF PARIS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,
BY THE EDITOR.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The intimate connexion between Philosophy and Theology, and the decided influence which the one has always exercised over the other, renders it impossible that those who are interested in the history of the latter, should be indifferent to that of the former. It is with confidence, therefore, that we present our readers with a view, drawn by an able hand, of the Philosophy of Kant. The influence which this system, has had upon religious opinion in Germany, is so obvious, that it forms even for the Theologian one of the most necessary and interesting chapters in the history of the last half century. It is true that this system, reared with so much labor, pronounced perfect and indestructible by its author and advocates, now lies in ruins. From one end of Germany to the other, there is scarcely a man of eminence to be found, who will acknowledge himself a disciple of Kant. It is in its general influence and in its scattered principles, which have worked their way into the public mind, that its real effect is now to be sought. The view given of this system by Professor Stapfer, is perhaps more favourable, than the pious and distinguished author would, at this day present. He doubtless, however, considers it as on the whole the most favourable to religion, and the truths of the Gospel, among all the systems which have hitherto appeared. But the fact that it has made way for, and been at least the indirect means of introducing the pantheistical systems of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, must create a great distrust as to the soundness of some of its fundamental principles. That any evil can arise in our country from the principles or writings of Kant, there is little reason to apprehend. The obscurity arising from its peculiar terminology, which came well nigh consigning his system to oblivion, in its native land, would of itself constitute

no inconsiderable obstacle to its progress. And besides this, there is such a difference between the German and English character, that what is demonstration for the one, is no proof for the other. The Germans say that the English are deficient in profoundness; and the English, the Germans in sound judgment. And hence a system which may make great progress among the former, may make none at all among the latter. And it would really seem to be a moral impossibility ever to make an Englishman (and of course an American) profound enough to see the truth or reason of many of the systems, more or less prevalent in this country. The Englishman is happily, generally willing to stop at the first incomprehensible truth which he comes to, without attempting to deny or explain it. The German undertakes to go further, and explain every difficulty, which only results (at least in the opinion of the Englishman), in his increasing the number.

The reader will see a striking illustration of this remark in what follows. That every effect must have a cause, is for Reid, a primary truth: he says, he cannot help believing it, the constitution of our nature forcing us to admit it. But Kant will explain, and denies that this appeal to consciousness, is a sufficient answer to the sceptic who denies the truth in question. For this purpose, he has recourse to a theory, which involves the denial of what every man, who is not a philosopher, holds to be true; and at last in his turn comes to an ultimate fact, which he is forced to admit on its own evidence. It is not wonderful, therefore, that Fichte should say to Kant, what Kant says to Reid, you have no right to assume as an ultimate fact, what you cannot prove, you cannot stop short in your career, it is the philosopher's business to explain every thing. Reid would say that the constitution of our nature forces us to believe, that external things are not only real existences, but that they exist in forms independent of our manner of perceiving them. Kant says, this is stopping

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(note REID)
contra Kant

too soon; the ultimate fact is merely that things exist, their forms, are only our manner of perception. Fichte says the same to Kant, and maintains that the things themselves as well as their forms exist only in our minds, his ultimate fact is that the infinite all comprehending principle exists, and stops nowhere until he arrives at absolute pantheistical Idealism, and even here, it would seem, that he is on precisely the same ground with the Scottish philosopher, whom he has left so far behind. For how does he know that the infinite (*das Unendliche*) the *παν* or *ὅν*, or by whatever name it may be called, has a real existence. He can certainly give no other answer, than that he cannot help believing it, that the constitution of his nature forces him to it, that the contrary is absurd, but this is precisely what the unphilosophical Reid says at the outset, in behalf of common sense. Little danger can be expected from any system which calls upon us to deny a fact of consciousness, it is impossible that it should succeed in stemming the stream of the whole world. There is another safeguard in the English character, against the prevalence of systems which of late have had more or less sway in Germany, and which may be assumed without exposing ourselves to the charge of undue national partiality, and that is, that the English have greater reverence for moral truth. They prefer being inconsequent, rather than denying the first principles of morals, and hence are not likely to admit principles, which have led so many German philosophers to maintain that sin is not a moral evil, that it is mere limitation, a necessary condition, &c.; and that every thing which is, is morally good. No one will suppose, we mean to give a general remark, an universal individual application. There are thousands of Germans to whom such principles are an abhorrence, and there are thousands of Englishmen, who, perhaps would find no difficulty in admitting them. Still the characteristic difference exists, and is indeed admitted by the Germans themselves.

¶ The view of the Philosophy of Kant, which is here presented, is much the most simple and intelligible, which we have seen, and will easily be understood by an attentive reader. He may, indeed, take offence at some terms, which are used in rather an unusual sense ; but this difficulty could not well be avoided. The style in the original (and much more perhaps in the translation) is somewhat involved. Professor Stapfer is a native of one of the German cantons of Switzerland, and hence his French has something of a German character. But as his ideas are perspicuous, and have passed completely through his own mind, it is hoped, that even under the disadvantage of a translation, he will be easily understood.

Berlin, Feb. 1828.



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BY PROFESSOR STAPFER,

OF PARIS.

EMMANUEL KANT, founder of the philosophical school in Germany, which succeeded that of Leibnitz, was born at Koenigsberg, in Prussia, the 22d of April, 1724, and died in the same city, at nearly the age of eighty years, the 12th of February, 1804. If it be true, that the greater part of the philosophical doctrines which have formed epochs in the history of the human mind, bear the impress of the character and habits of their authors, even in the abstract principles upon which they are founded, it is fortunate for the appreciation of the philosophy of Kant, that the calm unvaried life of the philosopher of Koenigsberg, has been described with greater care, than the brilliant and agitated course of many of the most celebrated men of modern times. Messrs. Hasse,* Borowski,† Wasianski,‡ and Jachmann,§ all intimate friends of Kant, have published memoirs of

* Letzte Aeusserungen Kant's von einem seiner Tischgenossen, Koenigsberg. 1804, in 8 vo.

† View of the Life and character of Kant, revised and corrected by Kant himself, *ibid.* in 3 vo.—German.

‡ Emmanuel Kant in the last years of his life, by E. A. Ch. Wasianski (his private secretary and table companion,) *ibid.* in 3 vo. German.

§ Letters to a friend, respecting Emmanuel Kant, *ibid.* 8vo.

their colleague or master, written with candor and simplicity, which merit more confidence than the compilation of an anonymous author,* or the fragments† of a biography of Kant, printed during his life, and under his own eyes. His family was originally Scotch, a curious circumstance, if we consider, that it is to the writings of Hume that we are indebted for the system of Kant. His father (a saddler, estimated for his tried integrity) and his mother animated by the strictest sentiments of piety, confirmed in him, by their precepts and examples, that confidence in virtue, which pervades in the highest degree, his system of morals. His father held all falsehood in abhorrence, and his mother, severe towards herself, required of her children, the most scrupulous performance of their duties; and it is to her influence, that Kant attributes the inflexibility of his principles, which aided him in the discovery of the absolute rule of moral virtue, by the analysis of the phenomena of the moral sense, and led him to supply new supports to the hopes of religion. "I never," says he, "saw nor heard in my father's family any thing inconsistent with honour, propriety or truth." The favourable influence which such models exercised over his principles and life, no doubt, contributed powerfully to penetrate him with the conviction, that the only means truly efficacious, of giving to the moral sense its proper developement and force, is to impress upon men constantly the sanctity of moral obligation, and

* Emmanuel Kant's Biography, 2 vol. 8 vo. Leipzig 1804. The last two volumes which should complete this work have never appeared. This compilation is not destitute of merit, it contains interesting anecdotes drawn from the relations of travellers and from letters of persons who lived with the philosopher who is the subject of the work.

† Fragmente aus Kants Leben, Koenigsburg 1802. The article Kant in the *Prusse littéraire* of the abbé Denina (vol. II. page 395 et seq.) abounds in errors and omissions.

to confine all practical instruction to the object of inculcating its maxims without abatement, and presenting its image and precepts in all their severity, without soiling their purity, or weakening their force, by the alloy of vain rewards, or of a corrupt emulation. What tended to confirm the opinion of Kant, as to the efficacy of this method, was his aversion to falsehood, which he inherited from his father, and which manifests itself in the principles and details of his system of morals. Every thing in man is connected, joined by some secret link. There is no question, but that the disposition of which we speak, was both the source and support of his love of truth, and that Kant thence derived at once, the courage to sound in all its extent the appalling abyss, which the skepticism of Hume had opened under the foundations of all human knowledge, and not to despair of being able to establish upon a surer basis, the shaken edifice.

But let us resume the consideration of Kant, at the time in which his parents committed him to the higher schools, furnished with a virtuous disposition, and conscientious principles. His academical life offers nothing but the peaceful course of severe, systematic, and persevering studies, embracing without apparent predilection, all the branches of knowledge which form the key of the practical sciences.—Languages, history, the mathematical and natural sciences, occupied, successively, his attention. He carried into each department of this extensive field, that scrutinizing spirit, and that avidity for knowledge, which give no rest to the mind, until it has explored the whole surface of the ground and examined its nature, sounded its depth, ascertained the limits of the portion already cultivated, and determined what yet remains to be accomplished. Fellow student of Ruhnkenius, auditor of the mathematician Martin Knutzen, of the natural philosopher Teske, of the theologian Schultz, professors more learned than celebrated, Kant fulfilled, by

his varied and profound studies, one of the conditions of the task which his genius imposed upon him ; that of reducing to one central point, to certain fundamental principles, the mass of human sciences, of arranging and classifying them, of founding and connecting them, with a view of facilitating their acquisition, examination, and application. The moment seemed to have arrived, which called for another Aristotle, who should reconstruct the edifice of human knowledge upon a more extended plan. None of the metaphysical systems which divided thinking men, could satisfy this desire of unity, which the human reason so imperiously demands, and which, the philosopher of whom we are speaking, has shown, has such an intimate connexion with the essence of this faculty. The anarchy which reigned in the schools hitherto dominant, gave renewed force to this desire. If the victorious manner in which Locke had combatted the doctrine of innate ideas : if the brilliant success which had crowned the researches of the disciples of Newton, and sanctioned the experimental method of Bacon, had progressively diminished the number of the adherents of the philosophy of Leibnitz, and thrown all metaphysics into discredit, especially all systems founded on *a priori* principles ; the doctrine of Locke became in its turn the object of a distrust constantly increasing, and at last of the most decided reprobation, in the eyes of all men of talents and virtue, when it was seen, that the writers in France, who professed this philosophy, betrayed in their best efforts, its insufficiency for the classification of the human sciences, and introduced into morals, principles of materialism and selfishness, which degrade our nature, and which are rejected with disdain at the bar of conscience : whilst in the native country of Locke, consequences drawn from his principles with unquestionable justice, led Priestley to fatalism, and Hume to opinions destructive of all certainty. Such was the state of philosophy when Kant, by the vast extent of his plan of studies

was acquiring the means, of presenting himself as judge of the most abstruse controversies, and mediator between the philosophical parties. The history of his labours is that of his life. His literary activity which presents to his Biographer the only events he has to record, embraces more than half a century, and may be divided into two distinct portions. To the first, in which he was preparing himself to act the part of the founder of a new school, belong the numerous and varied works, which he published between 1746 and 1781, when the *Critic of pure Reason* appeared. It was by these works, that so to speak, he established his mission as the reformer of philosophy and the founder of a new system, as to the origin of human knowledge; and prepared the thinking public to receive with deference, and examine with respectful attention, his new analysis of the human faculties. The second period of Kant's literary career, commences with 1781, and comprehends the writings in which he has presented, developed, and defended, the various parts of his doctrines, and terminates only a short period before his death. With a view to save space, we will reserve for a review of the works of Kant, the mention of those which were printed during the first period; and will confine ourselves here, to what may serve to explain the formation of his system and to present some general idea of its character. Certain hints furnished by himself* compared with those of his metaphysical treatises which belong to the first period, especially a Latin dissertation as early as 1770, which contains the embryo of all his doctrines, will be our guides in endeavouring to trace the progress of thought, which conducted him to the fundamental idea of his theory. Bringing to the consider-

* In a work entitled *Prolegomena to all metaphysics which would rise to the rank of a science*. See also the earliest of all his metaphysical writings. *Principiorum primorum cognitionis metaphysicæ nova dilucidatio* 1755 in 4 to.

ation of the problems of the higher metaphysics, the determination of examining every thing without prejudice, and with the desire of submitting to nothing but evidence, decided above all to adopt nothing merely on the authority of others, he was, no doubt, supported in this difficult task, by confidence in his own resources, and by the conviction that he could if necessary, open a new way, and discover new supports for the old and indestructible interests of man, if the ancient foundations should appear to him insufficient. But may he not have presumed too much upon his strength? May he not have paid himself and made perhaps a whole generation, pay too dearly for his confidence in human reason, and especially his confidence in his own? Of all the reproaches that can be made against the Philosopher of Königsberg, that of being urged to reconstruct the system of metaphysics by a love of novelty, or the ambition of shining as the head of a sect, would be the most unjust and the best contradicted by facts. To exhaust the examination of all previous attempts, before commencing a new one; to render to each of his predecessors entire justice, in assigning to each the acknowledgments due for his labours; to present clearly those views of the truth, of which we are indebted to each for the discovery; to mature during a whole life, ideas, of which the originality alone, would place their author in the rank of the most profound thinkers; and to neglect, in finally committing them to the public, every thing which could serve to render them attractive; is certainly not the part of a rash innovator, and much less of a Charlatan or of a man actuated merely by ambition.

That which, at an early period, peculiarly struck the mind of Kant, was the marked contrast between the rigorously scientific form, in which from the very infancy of the efforts of speculative reason, the science of logic had come from the hands of Aristotle, and the vacillating uncer-

tain gait, which all other philosophical doctrines at every period of their history, have constantly exhibited, in their principles, methods, and results. Why has this section alone of the theory of the mind, assumed from the first, a march so firm, that it can be compared to nothing but that of geometry, since the days of Euclid? The forms to which the activity of the mind is subjected, when we consider the course of its acts in the formation of a judgment, or of a syllogism, detached from its object of application, forms, of which no man in his senses, has ever questioned, either the existence or authority in the whole range of human thought, since Aristotle has shown that they invariably regulate the operations of the mind in the formation of a proposition or act of reasoning; may not these forms, viewed in another aspect, be the laws which we believe to be drawn from the observation of nature, whilst it is we ourselves who impose them, so that nature, as far as her phenomena are concerned, is really by their means our own work? These laws of the understanding, may they not be simply the order prescribed to the processes carried on in the laboratory where human knowledge is formed? May they not be as a cement which binds our perceptions into one body of experience? In other words, may we not here see the means given to the understanding, for seizing on its impressions, converting them into a kind of intellectual possession, and investing them with a character, without which they would remain mere steril and transitory modifications, without which they would not, in fact, really belong to us, and which alone can raise them to the dignity of conceptions, of notions, and of knowledge, real and important? This conjecture tended at once, to create a veritable ontology from the materials furnished by logic, and to erase metaphysics from the number of the sciences, or at least to banish to the regions of Chimera, that which had hitherto borne the name. Although, in reviewing the

earlier works of Kant, we perceive some traces of this idea in more than one of them ; it is, nevertheless, certain, that the hypothesis of a radical identity between the principles whence the logician derives his precepts, with the primordial laws which ontology assumes the right of prescribing to the whole assemblage of objects submitted to our perceptions, did not at first present itself to the mind of Kant, in any other light than that of a plausible approximation, of a conjecture worthy of some attention, but by no means in all its importance and in all the extent of its bearings. It was by the lurid light of the torch of Hume, that he perceived of a sudden, both the one and the other ; it was the theory of the Philosopher of Edinburgh, on the origin of the notions of cause and effect, which produced this idea in Kant, in presenting it to him, in its developement, at once, as the sole counterpoise to a scepticism destructive of all human certainty, of all connexion between our perceptions, of all confidence in the results of the operations of our own faculties, and the only means of reconciling what the systems of Locke and Leibnitz offer, that is useful for the solution of the most important problems of metaphysics. A reformation of philosophy was desired as much by upright and virtuous minds, as by the speculative spirits of the age. If, on the one hand, the desolating and degrading doctrines of Hume and Helvetius had revealed the inevitable tendency of the doctrines of Locke, when their defenders had penetration enough to discover, and courage enough to avow all the consequences of their premises ; on the other hand the efforts of such men as Baumgarten, Lambert, and Mendelssohn, had proved the impossibility of adopting the theory of Leibnitz, to the new wants of the intellectual and moral state of enlightened Europe.

The author of this article, should he attempt to reduce within the compass of a few pages, the exhibition of one of the most extensive pictures which the history of the

human mind presents, would only be able to glance at a multitude of subjects without any instruction for his readers: he conceives it to be more useful to confine himself to the illustration of the main point, the generation of the fundamental principle of the Critical philosophy. In order to render this point intelligible, it is necessary for us to review the sceptical arguments of Hume, on the relation of cause and effect, or the principle of causality, as they are presented in the 4th, 5th, and 7th section of his Inquiry, concerning the human understanding. It was these, to use his own words, which interrupted the *dogmatic* slumbers of Kant.* As this is the cardinal point with which every thing original in the views of Kant, is connected, the reader who consults this article, not merely for the sake of some biographical or literary notices, but to form some distinct idea of the causes of Kant's metaphysical reformation, and of the true foundation of his doctrine, will not be displeased, at the extent we are about to give to our exposition of the reflections, which led to the formation of his system. The substance of them is, as follows:—

“When two events succeed each other, or in other words, when the perception of the one succeeds the perception of the other, in our consciousness; if we imagine to ourselves that the second could not have existed, had not the first preceded it, we are immediately struck with the idea of a cause. Whence do we obtain it? Is it given to us *with* the perception itself of these events? Locke and all the adherents of his analysis of the human faculties, in answering this question in the affirmative, never imagined, until Hume, that their opinion tended to destroy the certainty of the axiom, that every event must have a cause to deprive it of its characteristics of necessity and universality, and thus destroy, in its very foundation, all human knowledge, which rests on its application. Hume distinguished between necessary connexion,

* *Prolegomena to all metaphysics*, preface and parag. 14—30.

and natural connexion or junction ; he denied that it was possible to discover any real connexion between the cause and the effect. The effect, he says, we recognize as an event, distinct from that regarded as the cause, but in the latter we in no way perceive the germ of the former, we see merely the sequence of events regarded as cause and effect, (for example, a ball set in motion, on being struck by another ; or the arm raised after a volition,) their connexion neither is nor can be a matter of perception. If then, prior to, and independently of experience, the notion of that which is a cause, does not include the idea of efficiency, it is clear that the idea of causality can only be derived from experience, which can produce nothing more than the expectation of the probable sequence of two events, and not the idea of necessary connexion, that is, of a connexion which would involve a contradiction to admit the contrary.*” Reid,† one of the most zealous and able adversaries of Hume’s theories, candidly admits the truth of this observation : “ Experience, he says, gives us *no information* of what is necessary, or of what *ought* to exist. We learn from experience what *is* or *has been*, and we thence conclude with greater or less probability, what will be, under similar circumstances, (for example, we believe that the stars will rise to-morrow in the east and set in the west, as they have done from the beginning of the world ;) but in regard to what must necessarily exist, experience is perfectly silent ; (no one believes the impossibility of the Sun’s having been made to rise in the west, or that the Creator could not have made the revolution of our Globe from east to west.) Thus, when experience has constantly taught us that every change observed by us is the production of a cause, this leads us reasonably to believe

* See Inquiry concerning the human understanding, IV. 1.

† Essay on the active powers of man, Edinburgh, 1788 in 4to. p. 31. Essay I, ch. 4, and Essay IV, ch 2, page 279, also Essay VI, ch. 6, on the intellectual powers of man.

that such will be the case in future, but gives us no right to affirm that it *must* be so and cannot be otherwise." This is an important concession, and decisive of the fate of Locke's doctrine. Yet, neither Reid, nor any of the philosophers opposed to Hume, were aware of the importance of the admissions which the sceptic had wrested from them, or of the impossibility of resisting his attacks, if they assumed the positions occupied by the schools of Locke and Leibnitz.—By what right do we affirm that no change can occur without a cause? If we confine ourselves to maintaining that all the changes presented to our observation, as well those which are attributed to an act of our will, as those which occur without us, have all had their efficient cause, our assertion may justify itself by our own experience or that of others. If we appeal to the intimate persuasion which we have, that no event will occur to contradict this experience, no one will condemn an expectation so reasonable. But this expectation, is it solely the result of an induction founded upon experience? Kant affirms not. Induction, says he, (and here is the generating idea of his system) induction, whatever generalizing virtue we may attribute to it; induction, however large the base we assign to it, however numerous may be the facts furnished by my activity or external perception for its support; induction could never found an expectation which would pretend to justify itself at the tribunal of reason, nor produce that sentiment of irresistible conviction with which we yield ourselves to this expectation, without being able to imagine to ourselves the possibility that it should ever be deceived. If this sentiment be a matter of consciousness; if it manifest itself in the earliest infancy with the force and tenacity of an old habit; if in announcing the proposition, *that every effect must have a cause*, we have the certainty of its truth in all the cases which could have occurred before our birth, or can yet occur in the course of ages, it is the business of the

philosopher to explain *how* we have acquired this conviction. If without attempting to demonstrate it, he admits it as a primitive fact, as the Scottish school have done, this is very well ; he at least does not give the lie to his own consciousness ; the only result is, that there is a gap in his analysis of the human faculties, which is not sufficiently thorough, and fails to accomplish the conditions it had to fulfil. But if the author of this analysis, in boasting that he furnishes the means of accounting for the fact in question, far from explaining it, not only renders it impossible to conceive, but proposes a solution which is in direct opposition with some of the principal terms of the problem, it is evident, that by denying a fact of consciousness, he pronounces condemnation on his own explanatory hypothesis. This was the case with Hume, who, having adopted and developed the principles of Locke, availed himself of them to invalidate the doctrine of the *sufficient reason*, which it is true, Leibnitz but feebly supported, but which he at least left it in all its integrity as a matter of intuitive perception. The relation of cause and effect, says Hume, exists in no way in the things or events which we observe ; we do not derive the idea from experience ; in two successive events, there is absolutely nothing in the one which can be called cause, or in the other, effect. From this observation, which is as just as it is acute, the Scottish philosopher drew the fair conclusion, that this bond of causality which we establish between things, is an operation of our own minds, and proceeds solely from ourselves. Until this point, Hume advances with Kant, supported by incontestable facts and arguments. But here they separate. Wishing to explain whence arose this operation of our minds, which establishes the law of causality between different events, instead of searching for the ground of this operation in the nature of the mind itself, (which would have led him to the path pursued by Kant,) he thought he found it in the activity of the imagination, which places

in real and necessary connexion, what we have constantly seen united; and in the *habit* which arises from this repeated association, of placing events which succeed each other, in the relation of mutual dependence, or of cause and effect. The insufficiency of this solution could not escape Kant. How can propositions which the moment they are proposed to the mind, strike it with an irresistible conviction, be referred to the same origin with those, which we conditionally adopt, on the authority of experience, with the express reserve that we will abandon them, the moment an opposite experience occurs to contradict them? The mind rejects every idea of the possibility of an exception ever occurring, which can set limits to the universal application of propositions of the former class, (such as geometrical truths,) while those which rest on experience, although it be repeated a million times, can never have any thing more than a conditional or hypothetical certainty, exposed to the chances of future experiences, which may completely disprove them. (For example, in affirming that every organized being must die, that all wood is combustible, we do not pretend to maintain that it is contrary to reason, to suppose that an organized being may one day be discovered which escapes death by a periodical renovation, or that some species of plant may not be found which can resist the influence of fire, as combustible minerals have been discovered; we merely mean to affirm, what is the result of observations hitherto made, and the belief that no experience will occur to contradict this result.) Kant was not slow in observing, that the arguments of Hume against the objective reality, (that is, really existing in the objects) of the principle of causality, were applicable to a multitude of our judgments on things, which we adopt with entire conviction, although the elements of which these judgments are composed, are not to be found in the things themselves. Such are all the propositions of pure mathematics, those which form the foundations of

physics, of ontology, of logic ; in a word, all such as have the characteristics of absolute universality and necessity, must have some other source than the impressions made by the objects. Hume saw nothing in experience, but an assemblage of isolated perceptions, united in groupes by the imagination and memory. Kant, in separating, in experience, the elements differing in their nature and origin, was careful not to consider experience and the understanding as contrary and heterogeneous, as Hume had done ; but considering the understanding and perceptions, as things opposed, he recognized, that it was from their concurrence, under the mediating influence of an indefinable self-consciousness that experience is produced ; that the understanding is the artificer of experience, our intuitions the materials, and that the instruments, laws of arrangement, or rules of construction, are identical with the modes of operation to which our intellectual faculties are subjected in their exercise. It is easy now to understand why Kant stated, in his principal work, the grand problem which he undertook to solve, in terms which have so often been accused of obscurity ; *How are synthetical a priori judgments possible ?* *Synthesis* is composition. A synthetical judgment, therefore, is one of which the terms, not mutually including each other, cannot, by analysis, be drawn the one from the other. We have seen, that according to Kant, there are propositions in which we attribute to external things, certain manners of existence, of which the idea is not communicated to us with or by the impression of these objects upon our sensibility, (or according to Kant's phraseology,) *receptivity* ; we consequently add to this impression, which we derive from without, forms and conceptions which we draw from our own resources, and which proceed from the bosom of our own intellectual being. Thus, in the proposition, *every event must have a cause and produce an effect* ; we may exhaust on the idea of the subject (i. e. *the fact, the given event, that which occurs,*) the re-

sources of the most profound analysis, we may examine as long as we please, we will never find in the idea of something which happens, either the idea of some other thing which must have necessarily preceded it, or some thing which must necessarily follow. There is then an addition made to the idea of the subject. But this attribute, this additional element, which adds to the other term of the proposition a quality which was not in it, do we derive it from experience? Certainly not, if there be any justice in the arguments of Kant. Similiar propositions are the following: "a straight line is the shortest distance between any two points; God exists; the world is finite; the soul is immortal; every thing in nature is connected; all the accidents which we perceive and which are susceptible of change, must be attributes of something which supports them and which does not change, that is, of a substance:" there is in all these an amalgam (*synthesis*) of a subject with an attribute which is neither derived from the idea of the subject nor from experience; and the judgments derived from this combination, are judgments *a priori*, that is, judgments independent of experience, judgments into which enter as elements, acts of faculties anterior to all experience and necessary to its formation.

Let us imagine a mirror endued with perception, or sensible that external objects are reflected from its surface; let us suppose it reflecting on the phenomena which it offers to a spectator and to itself. If it come to discover the properties which render it capable of producing these phenomena, it would find itself in possession of two kinds of ideas, perfectly distinct. It would have a knowledge of the images which it reflects, and of the properties which it must have possessed previous to the production of these images. The former would be its *a posteriori* knowledge; whilst in saying to itself, "my surface is plain, it is polished, I am impenetrable to the rays of light," it would show itself possessed of *a priori* notions, since these properties, which it would recognise as

inherent in its structure, are more ancient than any image reflected from its surface, and are the conditions to which are attached the faculty of forming images, with which it would know itself endowed. Let us push this extravagant fiction a little further. Let us imagine, that the mirror represented to itself, that external objects are entirely destitute of depth, that they are all placed upon the same plane, that they traverse each other, as the images do upon its surface, &c., and we shall have an example of objective reality attributed to modifications purely subjective. And, if we can figure to ourselves the mirror as analysing and combining in various ways, the properties with which it perceived itself invested ; (but of which it should have contented itself, to establish the existence and examine the use;) drawing from these combinations conclusions relative to the organization, design, and origin of the objects which paint themselves on its surface; founding it, may be entire systems upon the conjectures which the analysis of its properties might suggest, and which it might suppose itself capable of applying to an use entirely estranged from their nature and design; we should have some idea of the grounds and tendency of the reproaches which the author of the critical philosophy, addresses to human reason, when forgetting the veritable destination of its laws and of those of the other intellectual faculties ;—a destination which is limited to the acquisition and perfecting of experience, it employs these laws to the investigation of objects beyond the domain of experience, and assumes the right of affirming on their existence, of examining their qualities, and determining their relations to man.

We hope that we have rendered intelligible, how the philosopher of Koenigsberg, in generalizing the objections which Hume had directed solely against the authority of the law of causation, and in extending them to all those universal propositions, without which, our perceptions could not be organized into a body of experience, and which are

the foundation of our knowledge, was led to demand of himself; is it possible to prove the truth of *a priori* synthetical judgments? We have seen how, in searching for the solution of this problem, he found himself led to examine the foundations of our knowledge, and sound the depths of our intellectual being. The first step which Kant took in to a career, entirely new for the human mind, brought him to a point which presented to him universal and absolute propositions, in a new light. Not proceeding from the objects observed, may they not emanate from the observer himself? Struck with the harmony, rigor, and absolutely unalterable authority of the laws, which regulate the operations of the mind, (and of which the code proceeded from the hands of Aristotle, so admirably arranged, that after-ages have only spoiled his work, in pretending to enrich and improve it,) he conceived this important idea: viz. the mode of activity to which the understanding is restrained, in the formation of the notions of genus and species, of judgments, of syllogisms, categorical, hypothetical, disjunctive, &c., may be the very source of the ordering influence which we exercise over the impressions we receive from external objects; the laws, in virtue of which the different judgments developed in the works of logic, are formed, are they not the very laws, according to which the mind becomes possessed of individual objects by intuition, reduces them to matters of knowledge, and binds our perceptions of them into a body of experience? in a word, the laws of the mind, are the laws of the phenomenal world.

This idea, which a man, merely ingenious, would have rejected at first view as extravagant, presented itself to the penetrating and extensive mind of Kant, in all its importance, and in all its fruitfulness of resources, for the perfecting of philosophy. The moment it presented itself clearly to his view, he conceived the hope of undertaking with more success, than his predecessors, the separation of

what is purely *subjective* in our knowledge, from what is *objective*. From this moment he saw himself called to effect in the speculative sciences, the revolution which his illustrious countryman, the Prussian Copernicus, had produced in the natural sciences; a parallel which presented itself to Kant's own mind, and which, as peculiarly adapted to characterize his philosophical reformation deserves, for an instant, to fix our attention. What was the ancient definition of truth, the object of all metaphysical theories? Truth, it was said, is the agreement of our representations with the things represented. But how establish this agreement? how shall we ascertain that it actually exists? Aristotle and Locke on the one side; Plato, Descartes, and Leibnitz on the other, mark out different routes, and pursue different methods. The former search in our sensations the faithful image of the object, and study the impression to discover there the truth, and as it were, seize it in the fact; their rivals on the other hand, address themselves to the thinking being itself, and dare to interrogate the divinity to obtain thence authentic information, as to the essence of things and their veritable qualities. But whatever may be the difference of their results, that of their methods is more apparent than real. They all commence with the object to arrive at the subject; even when they appear to occupy themselves in the first instance, with the latter it is only so far as it is itself the object, and in its absolute qualities, that they regard it; it is not its faculty of knowledge which they examine to appreciate its laws and its reach. They all commence with demanding—what are things? and afterwards endeavour to determine what man can know of them. Kant reversed the order of the questions: he undertook to form in the first place, a just idea of man, in so far as he is endowed with the faculty of knowledge, and thence to conclude, what the things, in which man is himself included, can, or ought to be, and will be, in consequence

of the organization of this faculty, for a being which is restrained to its employment when it wishes to arrive at a knowledge of external things. We see that the course here pursued, is exactly opposed to that taken by the philosophers who preceded Kant. It is no longer man, who is modified by the impressions of external objects—his thoughts are not cast into their moulds and do not follow the undulations of their movements, either in virtue of their direct influence, or of the will of their supreme director : it is the objects themselves which are cast into the moulds of the human intellect, which incorporates them into the system of its knowledge, in impressing upon them its seal.—In assuming this ground, we must renounce the common definition of truth ; we can no longer seek it in the agreement of the representation with the thing represented, but in the agreement which must reign between the phenomena, submitted to our observation and bound in the system of our knowledge, and the fundamental laws of our intellectual faculties :—the truth will no more appear to us to be the exact outline of the objects, than the head of Antinoüs is the exact image of the wax which has received its impression. We will no longer revolve around the objects, by making ourselves their centre, we make them revolve around us. This is the Copernican reformation. To contest the originality of the views of the founder of the new school, it is not sufficient to prove that some skeptics, idealists, metaphysicians of the greatest celebrity have, before Kant, ascribed a large part of the qualities which we refer to external objects, to the character of our organs and of our minds, and should, therefore, be regarded as the defenders of the subjective origin of our knowledge. There is no doubt that Plato, Descartes, Pascal,* and d’Alembert, appear, each according to his peculiar views, to have

* Pascal says, “ Au lieu de recevoir les idées des choses en nous, nous teignons des qualités de notre être toutes les choses que nous contemplons.

had some glimpse of the new career which Kant has opened to the philosophical mind. But did they enter on this career themselves? Who ever thinks of ascribing the honor of the system of attraction to the authors, who appear to have had some notion of it before Newton? And it should be regarded, that Kant has not produced a new epoch by merely presenting the idea, that in our representations of external things, there is mingled with the impression received from without, that of our mode of receiving it. It is for having undertaken to determine with precision, what part, in all our sensations, perceptions, propositions, arises from our manner of feeling, perceiving and judging:—it is for having attempted to deduce from certain primitive facts, accurately observed and thoroughly analysed, the intellectual mechanism which constitutes the organization of our faculty of knowledge: for having founded upon this analysis a theory of the operation of the springs of thought: for having assigned to each of our faculties, its proper limits, its rights, and its range: finally, it is for having fixed the limits of the jurisdiction of each, and above all, the value of our title to the acquisitions or conquests, which reason has ever boasted of having made in the regions removed beyond the reach of our senses, that Kant may justly be presented as the author of the first system of philosophy, really *critical*, which has ever appeared. The result of this criticism is by no means favourable to the ancient pretensions of this presumptuous reason. Kant demands that it should renounce its barren excursions and imaginary conquests: he shows that the circumscribed soil of experience, is the sole domain to which it can attain, or where it has the right of exercising its powers, and that the cultivation of this soil, is the legitimate sphere of its activity and limit of its efforts. This is a process served on reason at her own tribunal. Such is the main idea and the general tendency of Kant's philosophical reformation. We now see, who excited this reform—how it arose in the mind of this author—why he

has given his philosophy the name *critical*, and for what reasons his disciples call it the *formal* philosophy.

We confine ourselves to giving an exposition of the results of Kant's system, and refer our French readers, who have not the opportunity of studying this philosophy in the writings of its author, and who may wish to form an idea of it, more developed, to the works of M. M. Villérs,* Gérands,† and Buhle.‡ They will read with pleasure also the ingenious outline which Madame de Stael, has given of this system. §

The reflexions which we have retraced, having led Kant, to give a different foundation to human knowledge, from any which his predecessors had laid, and to shake the confidence which they had placed in certain proceedings of speculative reason, as though they were adapted to elevate us to the knowledge of objects, beyond the territory of experience, he saw himself called to solve, agreeably to his own principles, and in a manner satisfactory to all our moral necessities, the three problems, *What am I able to know? What am I bound to do? What am I authorized to hope?*

* *Philosophie de Kant, ou Principes fondamentaux de la philosophie transcendante*, Metz, 1801, in 8vo. The author never renounced the idea of treating in a second part, and to greater extent, subjects which he had not sufficiently developed in the first part. A premature death prevented the accomplishment of this design, and of other useful projects,—among others, that of putting a finishing hand to an article on Kant, which he had prepared for the *Biographie universelle*, but with which he was not satisfied, and therefore desired that it should be returned to him. He had committed that charge to him who has the grief of supplying his place in the execution of this task, without being able to submit the work to his inspection.

† *Histoire comparée des systemes de philosophie, relativement aux principes des connaissances humaines*, 3 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1804; tom. II, ch. 16, p. 157—253, et tom. III. ch. 13, p. 505—551.

‡ *Histoire de la philosophie moderne, depuis la renaissance des lettres jusqu'à Kant*, par J. G. Buhle, traduit de l'allemand, par A. J. L. Jourdan, 1817, in 8vo. See the interesting articles of M. Cousin, on this work, inserted in the *Archives Philosophiques*, for July and Aug., 1817.

§ De l'Allemagne, 1814, tom. III. ch. 8, and ch. 14.

In order to separate from our real knowledge, the illusions which we associate with it, to determine what hold our faculty of knowledge has upon the invisible world, he commenced by submitting to the most rigorous examination, the instrument by which men construct their systems, that by which he thinks, combines, and reasons: in a word, his organ for the acquisition of knowledge, which one of his French interpreters has called *organe cognitif*. How do our intellectual faculties, transform as well the impressions coming from without, as the action of the mind upon itself into knowledge, real, useful, and sufficient for our wants? Do the objects which do not act upon our senses, come within the range? From his examination, the most patient and the most profound of which the annals of philosophy can boast, there resulted for him who undertook it, the fullest conviction, that our faculty of knowledge is solely given to us for the formation of experience: that in passing the bounds of experience it forgets its rights and abuses its powers: that speculative reason, notwithstanding the elevated rank which it holds among our intellectual faculties, is invested with no peculiar prerogative, with regard to the sphere of its exercise: and consequently that the most sublime as well as most ancient subjects of investigation and philosophical doubts; *God, liberty, and immortality*, are beyond its jurisdiction and its grasp. Having thus placed these great and only true interests of man, in security from the attacks of reason, Kant transported them to a territory, which, according to him, is inaccessible to speculative objections, and which offers for the truths of religion, an immoveable foundation. When he had finished his labors in reference to metaphysics and morals, he wrought over all the doctrines which borrow their principles from philosophy; the theory of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful, that of the arts which propose to realize these ideas, natural theology, morals applied to the

relations of society, to legislation and public rights. We now proceed to state the contents of his principal works, which may be considered as the essential and systematic parts of his course of philosophy.

I. *Critic of Pure Reason*,—(in 8vo. Riga, 1781; 2d edition, ibid. 1787, with important additions, but at the same time with such retrenchments as render it necessary still to consult the former.) The title signifies, *examination of the faculty of knowledge*, of the powers which concur in its exercise, of their laws, of the play of their operations, and of the effects thence resulting for man, relatively to the impressions which he receives, to the judgments which he makes, to the conceptions which he forms, and to the ideas to which reason elevates itself. The epithet, *pure*, which Kant has here given to reason, that is, to the intellectual processes of which knowledge is the result, implies merely that he considers it in itself and in the forms inherent in the faculty of knowledge independently of that which constitutes the matter of our knowledge. This matter, are the impressions which objects make upon us. These impressions are then considered, classed, ordered, combined; that is, submitted to the operation of thought, which forms them into conceptions. These impressions offer a multiplicity, a stuff, a *varium*, which the understanding reduces to unity. This reduction to unity, embraces either the totality, or a part more or less considerable of the impression; in the former case, is formed a representation of an individual object, whilst in the second, the partial reduction to unity gives rise to abstract notions, to the conceptions of species and genus. Conceptions are in their turn submitted to a superior faculty, which compares and combines them, and forms of them conclusions, notions of indefinite connexion, ideas. The power of knowing, or organ of knowledge, is thus composed of three distinct faculties; 1st, *sensibility*, which receives the impressions and

changes them into intuitions. The functions of this faculty include an active and a passive element. The influence exercised by external objects, supposes in the subject, an aptitude of being modified by this influence, and the power of reacting on the impression; a *receptivity* and a *spontaneity*. Sensation is passive; it calls forth the lowest exercise of our activity; it excites intuition, which is a production of spontaneity, in its lowest degree. The receptivity is then, an aptitude for receiving a sensation which furnishes the materials of a representation, a multiplicity, a *varium*: the spontaneity is the power of reducing this multiplicity, this *varium* to unity. We see, therefore, that the receptivity is only one of the powers which form the sensibility; it receives from external things, or from the modifications of the soul, an impression, which produces a reaction of the spontaneity. From the concurrence of these two functions, from the access given to the impression which furnishes the material, the *varium*; and from our activity, which produces the unity, arises the representation, or consciousness of the thing represented.

Second. The *understanding*, which forms conceptions, is the spontaneity exercised in a higher degree, the reduction of several intuitions, to unity at the same time.

Third. *Reason*, properly so called, (the spontaneity raised to its highest power,) forms conclusions by the reduction of several conceptions to unity, and ideas, in the strict sense, by adding to the conceptions of the understanding, the notions of the infinite and absolute. Each of these faculties has its laws, to which it is restricted in its exercises, and which constitute its nature. To the sensibility belong *time* and *space*, which are the general *conditions* of all our perceptions, the frames in which all objects must be enclosed before they can enter within the sphere of our faculty of knowledge. This hypothesis, so strange at first sight, resolves the difficulties, which Kant regards as inexplicable

in other systems. Without this, it is impossible to account for the character of necessity impressed upon all the notions derived from time and space—or understand how it is, that the most abstract idea, cannot disengage itself from their envelope, nor the most vigorous flight of thought, free the smallest portion of our essence from them. Upon pure space and time, that is, upon the a priori intuition of the forms inherent in our sensibility, anterior to all impressions, external or internal, are founded the mathematical sciences;—upon the pure notion of space, the certainty of geometrical propositions;—on the pure notion of time, the science of arithmetic.

The understanding operates in the same manner, according to its own laws, which Kant calls *categories*, (in a different sense from that, in which Aristotle has employed this term,) and of which he has established twelve, divided into four classes. Under that of *quantity*, are included:—1, *Unity*. 2, *Plurality*. 3, *Totality*. Under *quality*,—4, *Affirmation*, or *reality*. 5, *Negation*, or *privation*. 6, *Limitation*. The class of *relation* includes the correlative notions; 7, of *substance* and *accident*; 8, of *causality* or law of cause and effect: 9, of *community* or law of action and reaction. Finally, under the rubric of *modality*, are ranged the categories; 10, of *possibility* and *impossibility*; 11, of *existence* and *non-existence*; 12, of *necessity* and *contingency*. Whatever may be the object, which we perceive, if it is to enter into the series of our knowledge, we must apply to it at least four of these categories at once, taken in the four different classes. All our conceptions, all our judgments, are subject to the same law.

Finally, the forms of reason, which unites and combines the conceptions elaborated by the understanding, forms, which Kant calls, *ideus pure*, are: the idea of absolute unity or of simple being, (*idée psychologique*;) the idea of absolute totality, (*idée cosmologique*;) the idea of absolute real-

ity, of the first cause, (*idée théologique.*) These ideas, in Kant's system, have no other power and no other object, than to excite man not to stop at proximate causes, but perseveringly to mount, without interruption, from link to link, to those the most remote, indefinitely to prolong the chain, to extend constantly his observations and researches, and never to think them sufficiently complete, nor ever to imagine that the whole is sufficiently connected and vast, or its application sufficiently useful and varied. Here some of the most distinguished of Kant's disciples leave him. Instead of attributing to a necessity of reason, the operations by which man assumes an internal unity or the *soul*, an external unity or *matter*, and rises to the *absolute unity* which is the foundation of all that is contingent, they see in the notion of the absolute, a veritable perception, and suppose that reason perceives the absolute, the fundamental being, the real and primitive principle of all phenomena, as soon as she perceives the relative and variable, that is to say, the phenomena. Instead of contenting themselves with the human and subjective reality, which Kant has assigned to man, as his patrimony, they wish to penetrate to the field, which, according to Kant's principles, is interdicted ground. Hence the strict adherents to his principles reproach the schools of Fichte and Schelling, with forgetting the limits which the critical philosophy had established, and with restoring to speculative reason, her confidence in those ambitious efforts and *transcendental* conquests, of which, according to them, *criticism* had demonstrated the vanity and folly :—for if we admit, they say, the analysis of the intellectual faculties, as contained in Kant's system, to be correct, the fundamental principles of which are adopted by the authors of the new hypothesis themselves, it is clear that the sole result which can arise from the exercise of these faculties, is a world of appearances, of phenomena, which is entirely subjective, and of which it is im-

possible to say, whether it resembles in any manner the real world *of things in themselves*, (that is, considered absolutely and independently of our manner of perceiving them,) a world, which we have no means of perceiving what it really is. We receive from it impressions; but these impressions received by the sensitive faculty, clothe themselves with its forms space, and time, and become objects extended, bodies, &c. The forms have, without doubt, reality *for us*, and the things really *for us*, receive their impress. As a seal which could not find itself in contact with wax, without leaving there the impression of the head of Minerva, could never see the wax under any other form, than that of a substance, presenting on its surface, the head of Minerva. But if the seal should imagine that the wax could not exist in any other form; if the mirror should imagine that the objects which it reflects are destitute of depth; if the *cylindrical* mirror should imagine that they all had an oval figure, prodigiously elongated; they would all commit the manifest error, of confounding a reality subjective and phenomenal, with a reality objective and absolute. These impressions, clothed with the form which proceeds from our sensibility—the understanding, so to speak,—remodels; it submits them to its own peculiar general laws, and presents them to us, as bound together by the law of cause and effect, or action and reaction, or by other laws, comprised under the twelve catagories. It would be a great error to suppose, that these active faculties, which, according to Kant, are innate dispositions, originally inherent in our organ of knowledge, resemble the *innate ideas* of Plato and Descartes, or those which Locke imagined for the sake of combatting. The manner in which Leibnitz, in his *Nouveaux Essais*, has understood them, alone approaches to the pure, and active forms of Kant. Speculative or theoretic reason, finally, taking possession of the impressions as modified by the understanding, and presenting them to us (by the

aid of the notion of the infinite, drawn from its own forms of activity) as absolute realities, or an absolute whole, elevates them to the rank of *ideas*, in the sense in which Plato uses this word, and which Kant has restored to it. In this system, reason adds nothing to the impressions, absolutely nothing, which can furnish us with materials for throwing a bridge over the gulph, between the world subjective and phenomenal, and the objective world, or the things as they are in themselves. In endeavouring to clear this gulph by a *transcendental* flight, she consumes her strength in vain efforts; and in complaining of being attached to senses of perceptions, which fetter her endeavours, she offers, to use a simile of Kant, the image of a bird, which complains of the resistance of the element which supports him, and imagines that he could fly much better in a vacuum.

Kant having given to the pure and subjective laws, of our faculty of knowledge, and the researches of which they are the object, the epithet *transcendental*, his philosophy has received the name of the *transcendental Philosophy*. We here close our outline of this system, as it is presented by its author in the *Critic of Pure Reason*, a work exhibiting perhaps more of boldness, profoundness, and independence than any other effort of the human mind. We see, that the object of this philosophy is to examine the possibility, the nature and the limits of our knowledge, and its result is to represent this knowledge as absolutely and immutably confined to the domain of sensible perceptions. Illusion and error commence as soon as we pretend to apply this subjective manner of perception to objects, as they are in themselves. Kant compares the domain which it is possible for us to know and cultivate, to an island, smiling and fertile, but surrounded by a stormy and rocky ocean. If theoretic reason, instead of confining her efforts and pretensions to aid our other faculties *cognitives*, in well exploring and cultivating this insular habitation, wish to direct its flight on

the wings of her *pure ideas* to other regions ; if she imagine herself skilful enough to traverse this stormy ocean which surrounds the circumscribed abode, which has been assigned to man by his Creator, she finds nothing but chimeras and dangers, and wastes, in vain attempts, the time she ought to have employed in exciting the faculties of observation and conception, and in aiding their labor, which is alone productive, because it is directed to objects accessible to the senses.

To this main work. two other writings of Kant are nearly related.

II. *Prolegomena, or Preliminary Treatise to all Metaphysics, which can hereafter pretend to the name of science*, 1783, (this is the *Critic* re-wrought and exposed analytically,) and *Metaphysical Principles of the Science of Nature*, 1786.

III. *Critic of Practical Reason*, (i. vol. Svo. Riga, 1787,) that is to say, examination of the proceedings and rights of reason, in so far, as she exercises a legislative authority over the domain of moral liberty. In this work, Kant points out the only thing, which it is given to man, to perceive, in its essence, such as it is in itself,—and which thus becomes the link which binds him to the invisible world ; this is consciousness of a moral law, the august and mysterious source of the sense of duty. As including certain absolute principles, which regulate the will and actions of men, Kant has given it the name of *practical reason*. In this sanctuary of his moral being, man recognizes at once that he is free. that is, that he possesses a will free from all necessity, and which constitutes him a moral agent, responsible for his actions. In this sentiment, where the soul is in contact with itself, where it is at once *object* and *subject*, man recognizes two primary laws, which announce themselves as regulators of his will, one which urges him to seek his own happiness. and the other which imperatively commands him

to do good, to be virtuous without restriction, and even at expense of happiness. This law, which binds the being, endowed with reason, to good, is, in the last analysis, the principle of generalization, which forms the foundation of all syllogistic proceedings, but which, without real authority, in reference to the intellectual powers, exercises legitimately, its sovereign power in the sphere of moral actions. Kant calls it the *categorical imperative*, and expresses it by the following formula: "Regard constantly, the intelligent being as his own proper object, and never as a means for the ends of others;" and by this: "act always in such a manner, that your immediate motive might be made an universal rule in a legislation, obligatory upon all intelligent beings."—(See Critic of Practical Reason, § 7, p. 54.) These principles are called, *formal* practical laws, because they are not founded upon experience, and because they do not propose to the will, any *material* object; that is, any enjoyment, connected with the impressions of external things, or modifications of the soul itself. The general rule obligatory for the will, is but the application of the *form* of reason, to human actions. This form consists in the desire of absolute unity, and in the faculty of subordinating every thing to it; hence, reason, in exercising its normal power, prescribes to the will to realize unity in all its resolutions; that is to say, to take no account of affections, tastes, wishes, advantages, interests, and wants of the sensible nature, or peculiar position of intelligent beings; in a word, not to abandon itself to the influence, of *material* principles, (drawn from external impressions,) but to conform itself, in its determinations, to the views which are in accordance with the interests of all beings, endowed with reason, and which might serve for universal legislative principles. Reason then presents her own form, to the will, as the only motive for its decision, truly moral, and becomes *practical* in making the will adopt her principle of unity, as the prevalent rule of its free actions. As the physical organization of

man, is one of the conditions to which is attached the developement of his consciousness ; the activity of his intellectual powers, and exercise of the functions of practical reason ; the art by which reason reveals to man the existence of the absolute moral law, should be regarded as a promulgation of this law, by the author of our organization, and as a manifestation of his will. With respect to the other fundamental law of active beings, that which prompts them to the search of happiness, Kant bids us observe, that the secret voice of conscience announces the virtuous being, as alone worthy of happiness, and he calls the sovereign good, the state of felicity, where virtue and happiness are united in the same subject. But as, in the present state of things, these two fundamental laws, of the sensitive and moral being, are in constant opposition, and, as it too often happens, that virtue and happiness are united in very unequal proportions. Kant, thence argues the necessity of another life where these laws will be equally satisfied, and as an immediate corollary, the necessity of the existence of a judge, omniscient and almighty, who will assign to each his due portion of happiness ; In order to complete our notice of the more important considerations, which establish the indissoluble union of moral and religious principles in the system of criticism ; it is necessary to state here, their result in favor of the continued existence of the moral being, founded upon the task of progressive advance to perception, which his practical reason imperiously imposes upon him, but which he can never fully accomplish, whatever may be his efforts or the extent of his career. It is by these views, that Kant has placed the court of conscience beyond the attacks of sophistry ; that he makes the certainty of the immortality of the soul, and existence of God, result immediately from the constitution of our nature, by founding this certainty, not on science or demonstration, but on the necessity of accomplishing the moral law.

The developement of the principles, upon which the

Critic of Practical Reason rests, and their application to various branches of morals, are the object of two other works of Kant, entitled: *Basis of a Metaphysics of Morals*, 1784, and, *Metaphysical Principles of the Doctrine or Theory of Virtue*, 1797. The principles of the Kantian morals, have been exposed with a great deal of clearness, and combatted, with candour and impartiality, by C. Garve, in his *Review of the Principal System of Morals*, Breslaw, 1798, (page 183—394.) This examination, written in the closing period of a distressing malady, which terminated the life of one of the most distinguished moralists of modern times, is dedicated to Kant himself.

IV. *Critic of Judgment*, (one vol. 8vo. Liban, 1790.) It is by the faculty of Judgment, that we judge of all kinds of agreement and proportion, and consequently of the accordance of means with their end; of final causes; of the agreement of laws, and things in the universe; of the conformity of actions, with the rules of what is right and proper; of the degree of pleasure or pain which attends our sensations and sentiments, which is nothing more than the degree of their harmony, or discordance with the play of our organs,—the developement of our vital energy,—and with the functions of all our powers, favoured or disturbed in their exercise, by these sensations and sentiments. Finally, the sublime and the beautiful, in nature and in the arts, come in the system of criticism, under the cognizance of the faculty of judgment, a faculty which is at once speculative and practical, which partakes of the two powers, with which Kant commences his labor of analysis, and of which it is the bond and the supplement. Its laws and active forms, are exposed in the *Critic of Judgment*. The introduction to this work, presents more clearly the *ensemble* of Kant's philosophical views, than any other of his writings, and better exhibits that mutual connexion of his doctrines, which he has been accused of having never established. There is one

part of the *Critic of Judgment*, which, notwithstanding its novelty, has obtained the suffrages of the most decided enemies of Kant's doctrines; this is his theory of taste, and his analysis of the sentiments, which it is the object of the arts to awake. In order to produce the sentiment of beauty, the object must, by its action on the sensibility, put the imagination in play, in such a manner, as to produce a spontaneous accord between its exercise, and a rule of the understanding. When this accord does not take place, the understanding exerts itself to constrain the imagination to conform to the rule; this is the case, whenever the imagination concurs in the formation of a conception, and finds itself for the accomplishment of this object, subjected to the understanding. The unexpected discovery of this agreement, by producing the consciousness of the primitive harmony established between these two powers, is, according to this theory, the source of the pleasure excited by beauty, and which is connected with a feeling of elevation, since all easy and harmonious exercise of various faculties, increases the confidence which we delight to place in the wisdom and stability of our organization. The elements of which Kant composes the sentiment of sublimity, are of a more exalted character. Its source is the concurrence of the imagination and reason, exercising themselves by turns, and with unequal success, on a subject of unlimited grandeur. The imagination first, endeavouring, to compass the object, and obliged to renounce its efforts, with the painful sense of its impotence, produces the consciousness of the feebleness of our powers, and appeals for succour to the faculty, for conceiving the infinite: this faculty is reason: her exercise awakens the consciousness of our moral dignity: and the intelligent being raising itself with energy against the discouragement which threatens to seize it, places the nobleness of its nature, in the balance against the objects which appeared to insult its feelings, and coming out victorious from a comparison

which had commenced by humiliating it, soars in the consciousness of its mysterious powers, above the gigantic images, whose overwhelming dimensions seemed ready to annihilate it.

V. *Religion in accord with reason*, (Koenigsberg, 1793, second edition enlarged, 1794, in 8vo.) Religion, considered in the subject, is, according to Kant, nothing else than the performance of duties, regarded as divine laws. From his analysis of practical reason, combined with the knowledge of man, such as he manifests himself, by his actions, and such as he has made himself, he deduces a system of doctrine entirely conformed to Protestant orthodoxy. There is in man, he says, a principle of evil inherent in his nature, although not originally an essential part of it. The principle and type of good, which is inseparable from his reason, and is graven in the very nature of this faculty, proves that there was a primitive state, more noble and better suited to the original relations of subordination, established between this power, and the motives of his will, whilst the undeniable existence of evil and universal perversity, proves the fall and the degradation of man. The good principle is to triumph over the evil, and regain its legitimate ascendancy, by means of a moral association of men, formed for this purpose, invoking the divine co-operation, necessary for the accomplishment of their object. The founder of this moral society, formed under the protection of a legislator, who wished to establish the reign of the good principle, is Jesus of Nazareth. He is, in himself, the Ideal of human perfection, clothed in a human form. He presents humanity, as it must be, to obtain the favor of God : it is only so far as we believe in him, and conform our wills to his, and thus gradually realize in ourselves, by constant efforts, some faint image of his virtues, that we can find acceptance, and hope for a more happy destiny, than that, which, in justice, we have merited. It is thus that Kant has established the harmony, and so to speak, the identity of reason

and religion, the necessity of redemption for the restoration of man, and of a religious community offering upon earth an image, more and more faithful, of the city of God. Garve, who was exceedingly displeased with Kant for having renovated and restored the old Protestant orthodoxy, (see p. 319 of the second vol. of his letters to Cn. Fx. Weisse,) is obliged to confess that there reigns throughout this *Exposition of Rational Religion*, a sagacity, a knowledge of human nature, and an amiability which charmed him, (Ibid. p. 332.) These qualities are indeed the characteristics of Kant as a man and a moralist. When we reflect on the course of reasoning in his work on religion; his frequent assertions that reason alone can give us no certainty as to the severity or indulgence with which God will treat the violators of his law; that he could not conceive how man, without extraordinary divine assistance, can restore to the good principle, the ascendancy over his actions, and the exclusive authority which it has lost; that no one can prove, either the impossibility or improbability of a revelation: when we reflect on these opinions, so eminently favorable to the idea of the intervention of God, as directing and seconding the moral education of man, we are astonished and afflicted to find in certain parts of this work, and every where in the memories of his friends, his repugnance to admit the supernatural origin of christianity. Mr. Borowski is positive as to this point, (page 195—202;) and yet it is to him Kant addressed a letter, in which, speaking of a parallel between his system of morals, and that of Jesus, which Mr. Borowski was bold enough to make, in a work submitted to his inspection, before its publication, he expresses a kind of religious horror at the sight of his name in connexion with that of Christ. He begged his friend not to publish this work, or if he did, he charged him not to let that parallel remain—"one of those names (that before which the heavens bow) is sacred, whilst the other, is only that of a poor scholar, endeavouring to explain, to the best of his abili-

ties, the teachings of his master," (pages 7 and 86 of the work quoted above.) The inconsequence into which Kant has fallen in a point so essential, is not the only one which may be remarked in the opinions of one of the strictest logicians who have ever existed. In his *Critic of Pure Reason* he refuses all force to the physico-theological argument, for the existence of God: the whole tendency of his system demanded this refusal from him. Yet, in conversation, he praised, in the highest terms, the teleological argument, and spoke freely of final causes and their utility in religion. One day, he was heard suddenly to exclaim, *There is a God!* and then forcibly develope the evidence of this truth which nature every where presents, (Hasse, l. c. p. 26.) On the 2d of June, 1803, a short time before his death, the celebrated orientalist, J. G. Hasse, a man of talents, and his intimate friend asked him, what he promised himself, with respect to a future life: he appeared absorbed, and after reflecting, he answered: "Nothing certain." Sometime before, he was heard to reply to a similar question, by saying: "I have no conception of a future state." Upon another occasion he declared himself in favor of a kind of metempsychosis, (see Hasse, *Last Conversations of Kant*, p. 28, 29.) Will it still be said, that enlightened reason is sufficient for all the wants of the upright man, who searches sincerely and ardently the truth on the grand problems of life, when we see the most profound thinker, of which the history of the human mind makes any mention, endowed with all the qualities, and animated by all the sentiments which dispose the soul to open to the lights of natural religion, after having passed his life, and employed, in the calm of the passions, and in the absence of all distraction, the resources of the most powerful genius, in searching for new supports for the doctrines of religion, hesitating, contradictory, and vacillating, on the most important subjects, in the confidential communications of friendship, when the heart is most cordially disclosed?

VI. *Metaphysical Principles of the Science of Law*, 1796, 8vo. After having established the existence and legitimacy of the duties, which practical reason prescribes to the will, in commanding it to realize the form of pure reason, Kant deduces from them certain rights, and, in the first place, that of never being forced to violate these duties, nor prevented from performing them.—As the first law of practical reason is: “that every reasonable being is to himself, his own proper end, and in no case, should serve as a simple means to the arbitrary will of another,” it follows that man can neither alienate his own liberty nor attack that of others. *The Metaphysical Elements of Law*, form one work with the *Metaphysical Principles of the Theory of Virtue*. Less rich, perhaps, in original and profound views, than any other of the great works of Kant, his *Exposition of the Science of Law*, is remarkable for its interesting digressions on questions in legislation and politics. He examines the question, whether it is possible to conceive of a state of things so much in opposition with the essential objects of society, as would, in the eye of enlightened reason, present a proper motive for an insurrection; and he denies that any circumstance can occur to justify the author of a revolution. His opinion is principally founded on the interests of civilization. But if we owe obedience and fidelity to the government, as long as it can make itself respected, the same motives which condemn all revolutionary maxims, imposes, on citizens, the sacred obligation of turning to the best advantage, for the interests of their country and humanity, any revolution which crime or feebleness may bring about. Kant followed, with the liveliest interests, the phases of the French revolution, and had a high idea of the ameliorations in the organization of society, which he believed it would introduce; although no one spoke with greater indignation of its excesses. In the work of which we are speaking, there is a passage on the death of Louis XVI., surpassing, perhaps, in energy and effect, all the eloquence which this enormity has called forth.

VII. *Philosophical Essay on Perpetual Peace*: Königsberg, 1795, in 8vo. There is nothing in this essay resembling the councils and reveries of the good abbé de St. Pierre. Kant expects nothing from the influence of reason, but every thing from the force of things. Raising himself to a region, whence he embraces, in one view, the existing relations among nations and individuals, he discovers and points out the facts and necessities, which must lead men gradually to come out of their present barbarous and destructive state of inquietude ; in the same manner as the establishment of social institutions resulted from the union of families, renouncing the state of nature, to guarantee the mutual security of person and property, by creating a central authority, sustained by a force which could not be resisted.—There reigns throughout this work a kind of malicious naïveté, to which its elevated and sagacious views give a most peculiar charm. The same mixture of delicate wit, sprightliness, and severe purity in the general tendency, which rendered the conversation of Kant so interesting and instructive, is to be remarked in the last of his works published under his own inspection, entitled,

VIII. *Essay on Anthropology, considered in a pragmatical view*, (that is, applied to the necessities of life,) 1788, in 8vo. This work, filled with acute observations and ingenious views, considers human nature under the various modifications which diversity of age, sex, temperament, race, social organization, climate, &c., produce in the exercise and culture of its original faculties. Kant here shows himself as thoroughly acquainted with men, as he has proved himself the profound investigator of man, in his metaphysical writings. This essay, connected with his *Physical Geography*, proves that he had paid as much attention to the study of man *in concreto*, as of man *in abstracto*. In his comparative view of the characteristic qualities of the principal European nations, we are surprised to see his predilection for the French, who are treated far more favorably than the Eng-

lish, among whom he numbered many of his oldest and best friends. In the preface to the *Anthropology*, Kant bids adieu to the public, and shortly after committed all his manuscripts to Messrs. Jaesche and Rink, his pupils and friends, leaving to them the care of publishing, whatever they might find useful among them. The former selected a *Manual for teaching Logic*, 1801; the latter, a *Treatise on Education*, which appeared in 1803, under the title of *Pedagogic*, and the *Summary of Physical Geography*, of which we have spoken, published at Koenisberg, (1802, in 2 vols. 8vo.) with the object of destroying a work, published under the same title, at Hamburg, in 7 vols. by J. J. W. Vollmer, arranged from notes taken in Kant's lecture-room. This object was not attained, as the edition of Vollmer appeared to offer more completely, than that of Mr. Rink, the vast and interesting picture of the earth and its inhabitants, which Kant had composed from the works of an immense number of historians and travellers, which were his favorite study. This description has been reproduced by C. G. Schelle, in 2 vols. with corrections and additions, drawn from more recent accounts, which, however, should have been far more numerous, to place the work on a level with the present state of the science.

To this notice of a work of Kant, which has none of the bold conceptions and profound analysis which constitute his fame, naturally connects itself, the little we have to say, on those of his productions which are not connected with his system. In the former of the two periods of his literary career, in which a different man and a different genius is presented, we see Kant occupied with physics, mechanics, astronomy and geography, even more than with Philosophy, properly so called. To this period belong five and twenty works, more or less considerable; we can only mention such of them as are most remarkable for original and profound views. 1st, *Thoughts on the True Valuation of Active*

Forces, and Examination of the Demonstrations Employed by Leibnitz and other Mathematicians, (Wolf, Bernoulli, Hermann, Bülfinger, &c.) on this subject, (240 pages, in 8vo. with two plates, 1746.) The work of Zanotti, on the same question, appeared the same year. 2d, *The Natural History of the World, and Theory of the Heavens, according to the principles of Newton, (1755, and for the fourth time, 1806, in 8vo.)* He proves from the regularly increasing eccentricity of the planetary orbits, that some celestial bodies should be found between Saturn and the least eccentric comet. Other conjectures on the system of the world, the milky way, the nebulæ, the ring of Saturn, have been fully confirmed, thirty years after they were made, by the observations of Herschel; who, struck with the predictions of Kant, founded merely on reasoning, has more than once expressed his admiration of the genius of the author of the *Theory of the World*. 3d, *Theory of the Winds, 1756, in 4to.* 4th, *New Theory of the Motion and Rest of Bodies, with an attempt to apply it to the Elements of Physics, 1758, in 4to.* 5th, *Essay on Negative Quantities in Philosophy, 1763, in 8vo.* It would seem that in composing this little work of 72 pages, Kant had some presentiments of the discoveries of modern Chemistry and of Galvanism. 6th, *On the Fallacy of the Four Figures of Syllogism, 1762, in 8vo.* 7th, *The Only Possible Foundation for solidly Establishing a Demonstration of the Existence of God, 1763, in 8vo. 205 pages.* These two treatises, especially the latter, drew upon Kant the attention of all Germany, as the man most proper to effect that reform in the philosophical sciences, the necessity of which was becoming every day more sensibly felt. The argument, exposed in this work, (No. 7,) and afterwards overturned by Kant in the *Critic of Pure Reason*, together with all other arguments resting on theoretical reasonings; is founded on the necessity of believing a reality, of which the annihilation would involve

the annihilation of all possibility; and on the impossibility of ascribing such a character to the world, of which the existence and properties are contingent and variable. 8th, *Considerations on the Sentiment of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 1774, in 8vo. This work contains ingenious thoughts, expressed in a lively manner, but does not approach the foundations of the subject, and is not to be confounded with the profound analysis of these feelings, which forms the first section of the Critic of Judgment. 9th, *Essay on the Various Races of the Human Species*, 1775. This tract has been often reprinted; the ideas contained in it, have been partially adopted by Blumenbach, and explained in a particular work by Dr. Girtanner. Kant enlarged it in 1785. All these writings of the first epoch of Kant's life, have been collected by Professor Tieftrunk, in four volumes, (the first three in 1799, the fourth in 1807, in Halle,) together with the treatises, of less extent, which appeared since 1781. These latter, to the number of 25, are principally drawn from the journals, in which they were at first inserted by their author. A list of them may be found in Meusel, and more complete in the life of Kant, by Mr Borowski, (p. 44—85.) None of these smaller works are destitute of interest; they are almost all filled with new and important ideas, upon the greatest variety of subjects. They are all, as the smallest of the treatises of Aristotle and Bacon, worthy the attention of the literary man, as well as of the philosopher; of the theologian, the jurist, and the historian, as much as of the naturalist and the student of physics:—they are a mine of original and profound thoughts, of erudite notices, of ingenious conjectures, which it will long be difficult to exhaust. It would require too much space to present an analysis of them, and very useless to give the mere catalogue—we mention only the one, entitled, *Discussion concerning the Academical Faculties*, 1793. He here discusses the question, how far a public teacher may be permitted to publish, in his character of member of the Repub-

lic of Letters, opinions contrary to the doctrines taught in the schools, by order of the church and the government, and to which he is bound to conform in his official instructions. In the preface to this work, he gives a detailed account of the only event which disturbed the peaceful course of his life, his difficulties with the royal censorship at Berlin, respecting his treatise on the agreement of religion with reason. These difficulties produced a serious interruption of his tranquility, on account of the interference of the King of Prussia, who was prejudiced against him. Kant showed upon this occasion, which affected him deeply, a great deal of dignity, but at the same time, a great deal of resignation, and the greatest deference for the wishes of the monarch, in every thing which could be reconciled with truth and honor. He firmly refused to make a kind of recantation, which this Prince required of him; but whilst he forcibly represented, that he had only used a right which belonged to him, as a professor of philosophy, and a citizen, he promised the King, in terms of the most respectful submission, that he would henceforth publish nothing further on the subject of religion; an engagement which he scrupulously observed until the death of Frederick William II. This was the only occasion in which he became the object of the immediate attention of his sovereign.—For his offices and his fortune, he was indebted solely to the usual course of academic advancement, and the success of his writings. He was at first, teacher in several private families; in 1755, he became doctor of philosophy, and for fifteen years, was only one of the *privatim docentes*,* without salary, although his lectures were much frequented; in 1766, he was made under-librarian, with a miserable support, and obtained at last, in 1770, the chair of professor of logic and metaphysics. In 1786—88, he was rector of the

* In the German universities there are three classes of teachers, the Professors ordinarii, Professors extraordinarii and the *privatim docentes*. The last are allowed to deliver lectures, but have usually no salary. *Tr.*

University; in 1787, inscribed among the members of the academy of Berlin, and died without seeing any dignity added to his title of Professor, excepting that of *Senior* of the Philosophical Faculty.

It would be difficult to give an idea of his modesty and simplicity. He never spoke of his philosophy: and whilst it was the subject of conversation among the most enlightened men, in all the countries where the language and literature of Germany prevail, from his house it was entirely banished. It was with great reluctance he satisfied the wishes of strangers of distinction, who were unwilling to leave Königsberg, without seeing its greatest ornament. In the latter part of his life, he would only show himself, for a few minutes, at the door of his study to those who called upon him, and merely express to them his astonishment at their curiosity. He would sometimes say to his friends, smiling, "I have seen to-day some noble virtuosi." His friends assure us, that he hardly ever read any of the works in which, during twenty years, his principles were attacked, defended, developed, applied to all the branches of human knowledge, and of which the number is not overrated by stating it at several thousands. When any one mentioned before him, his most distinguished partizans, or the authors of new systems which had obtained a great reputation by appearing to develop and complete his,—such as Rheinhold, Fichte, Schelling,—he took no interest in the conversation, and hastened to banish the subject, expressing with no little disdain, his decided disapprobation of their pretended improvements. With regard to his antagonists, he paid them as little attention. He showed no sensibility to any attacks, excepting those of Eberhard,* which he victoriously repulsed, but with a spirit and tone of superiority, almost offensive: and to those of Herder who had been his pupil, and

* *A Discovery, by which an ancient Critic of Pure Reason, would have rendered the new one superfluous*, 1790, 2d edition, 1792.

who, in a severe criticism on Kant's system,* took pleasure in contrasting the repulsive dryness, and scholastic subtlety of his former master in his writings, with the charm, interest, and perspicuity of his instructions as professor ; and the variety of instructive facts, acute and interesting ideas, and the gay and spirited touches with which he enlivened lectures of a character purely eclectic. Perhaps, Eberhard and Herder, manifested too much chagrin at the supremacy which Kant for some years exercised in departments in which they themselves shone in the first rank ; and in their polemical writings, they attributed to Kant himself, far too much, of the arrogant despotism, intolerance, and contemptuous tone, which the crowd of his followers long affected towards all those who would not bow the knee before their idol. It is proper to mention, that the learned theologian, Storr, one of the most able adversaries of Kant, was treated by the Philosopher with great regard and esteem. In the preface to the second edition of his work on Religion, which Dr. Storr had combatted, Kant thanks him for the candid remarks which he had made against his work, and regrets that his advanced age and enfeebled powers, prevented his examining them with all the attention, which their importance and sagacity merited.

The greatest enjoyment of the latter years of Kant, was to invite, by turns, to his table, some of his old friends, and converse with them on all other subjects, than his own system and fame ; he took a lively interest in the events connected with the French revolution, and this was the point upon which he could least support contradiction. His gay and instructive conversation, had always rendered his company desirable in good society. His manners were mild and pure : as Newton and Leibnitz, he never married,

* *Metacritic, as an appendix to the Critic of Pure Reason*, by J. G. Herder, Leipzig, 1799, 2 vols. 8vo. *Calligone ; Critic, of the Critic of Judgment* by the same. 1800. in 3 vols. 8vo.

although he was not insensible to the charms of the society of amiable and well informed ladies. The smallness of his fortune, which increased only towards the close of his life, by long economy, and the product of his writings, twice prevented his forming a matrimonial connexion, mutually desired. He survived some months, a part of his great powers : before they became enfeebled, he often conversed with his friends of his approaching death : "I do not fear death," he said : (Wasiansky, p. 52 ;) "I know how to die. I assure you, before God, that if I knew that this night was to be my last, I would raise my hands and say, God be praised ! The case would be far different, if I had ever caused the misery of any one of his creatures." His motto, says the most intimate of his friends, (Wasiansky, p. 53 ;) was the maxim contained in the verses of one of his favorite poets :

Summum crede nefas, animam præferre pudori,
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.

He was often in the habit of speaking to himself. He was fond of poetry, and especially of fine passages, which expressed with energy, some moral thought ; but he had an aversion from oratory, and saw nothing in the most eloquent efforts of the greatest orators, but bad faith, more or less, adroitly disguised ; nor any thing in an elevated style, than prose in delirium. Kant was small in stature, and of a very delicate complexion. We have already spoken of his moral qualities ; he was distinguished by the strictest veracity, and by an extreme attention to avoid every thing which could give pain, if the interests of truth did not require it : he was affable, benevolent without austentation, and thankful for any attentions which he received. During the latter part of his life, he showed himself often moved by those of his servant, who more than once had difficulty to prevent his master kissing his hand. He gave reluc-

tantly to common mendicants, but it was discovered after his death, that besides other private charities, he gave annually, 1123 florins, to his poor relations, and to indigent families—an enormous sum if compared with the amount of his income.

Such was the extraordinary man, who has agitated the human mind to a greater depth, than any of the Philosophers of the same rank before him. The opinions on the permanent result of his analysis of the human faculties, are naturally exceedingly diverse. His faithful disciples, of whom the number, it is true, is much diminished, regard him as the Newton, or at least, the Keppler of the intellectual world:—beyond his own school, many ascribe to his principles, that revival of patriotic and generous sentiments, that return of vigor of mind, and that disinterested zeal, which have, of late years, manifested themselves in Germany, so much to the honor of the nation, to the success of her independance, and advantage of the moral sciences. A numerous party accuse him of having created a barbarous terminology, making unnecessary innovations for the purpose of enveloping himself in an obscurity almost impenetrable, of having produced systems absurd and dangerous, and increased the uncertainty, respecting the most important interests of man; of having, by the illusion of talent, turned the attention of youth, from positive studies, to consume their time in vain speculations; of having, by his transcendental idealism, conducted his rigidly consequent disciples, some to absolute idealism, others to scepticism, others again to a new species of Spinosism, and all to systems equally absurd and dangerous. They further accuse his doctrine, of being in itself, a tissue of extravagant hypothesis and contradictory theories, of which the result is to make us regard man, as a creature discordant and fantastic. They accuse him, finally, of having, by his demanding more than stoical efforts, produced in the mind, discouragement and

uncertainty, much more than the germs of active virtue, confidence, and security. There is, undoubtedly, exaggeration in both of these extreme opinions.—The disciples of Socrates, departed still further from his doctrines, than those of Kant have from the principles of criticism. Yet who will deny the merit of Socrates, or his salutary influence? As far as the style of Kant is concerned, it must be confessed, that it is exceedingly defective. In his *Critic of Pure Reason*, his frequent repetitions constantly break the thread of the argument, and this great work was never appreciated by the public, until the publication of the summaries of Messrs. Schultz and Reinhold, in 1785, and 1789. Reinhold, especially, contributed to redeem it from the oblivion into which it had fallen, and rendered in various ways to the philosophy of Kant, much the same service, which Wolf rendered to that of Leibnitz. The reproach of not having reduced to a single principle, the subject and object ; the faculties of man, and the solution of the grand problems of philosophy, is hardly justified by the result of such attempts, anterior to Kant, or by those of the idealist Fichte, or the materialist Schelling, who in proposing to satisfy this desire of theoretic reason, have endeavoured to attain, by the force of speculation, to the absolute unity of the personal soul, (*du moi*,) and of nature. This investigation appears to the true disciples of Kant, as vain, as the search for the quadrature of the circle, and as the very rock from which the *Critic of Pure Reason*, wished to preserve future metaphysicians. It is a reproach better founded, which may be made against Kant's system, that it resolves only one part of the doubts of Hume : a reproach the more serious, as it was to guard us from these doubts, that Kant had recourse to a hypothesis, which reduces the touching and magnificent spectacle of the creation, to an existence more than problematical, to an unknown power, which it is impossible to determine, the ~~the~~ of an intellec-

tual equation. It is not to be inferred from these remarks, that the theories of Kant have been definitively rejected in Germany: many of their principles and results have passed into the academical course of instruction; their impress is to be every where seen, and they are to be easily recognized in the writings of the moralists and theologians. By comparing the course of arrangement of Mr. Ancillon, in tracing his *Tableau analytique des développements du moi humain*, (p. 99—360, vol. 2, of his *Nouveaux Mélanges*, 1807,) with the principles of Bonnet and Mr. D. Stewart, and with the method of the most distinguished philosophers of the school of Condillac, (such as Messrs. de Tracy, Laromiguière, &c. ;) the French reader will have an idea, sufficiently correct, of the influence which the doctrine of Kant has exercised over the enlightened classes in Germany.

ON THE ACTS

OF

THE APOSTLES;

FROM

Hug's Einleitung ins N. Test.

(FROM THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION.)



The Acts of the Apostles.

THE Acts of the Apostles and the Gospel of Luke, constitute a whole, of which the latter is the first, and the former the last part. In the Gospel, he presents to us the history of Jesus, until his ascension; in the Acts, he again resumes the thread of his narrative, where he had dropped it in the first history. If we connect the beginning of the Acts with the end of the Gospel, we evidently perceive, that in the latter he postpones the circumstantial treatment of the ascension, to preserve it for the following work, and that he had already resolved upon the plan of its continuation in the Acts of the Apostles, when he was finishing the Gospel.

Thus, has Luke himself considered the two writings:—he calls the Gospel in Acts, i. 1, *πρωτον λογον*, *the first account*, the first part, which was to acquaint us with the actions and doctrines of Jesus, *ὃν ἤρξατο ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν*, which can only be called the first part in contradistinction to a second. The Acts of the Apostles is then the *δευτερος λογος*, which is intended to instruct us respecting the results and effects of the undertakings of this teacher, after his death, respecting the actions of his disciples, the progress and increase of his school. The contents are these: After the Lord had given his last commands, he ascended to heaven. The Apostles fill up the place of Judas, ii. At the Pentecost occur the communication of the Spirit,—its operations,—the false opinion respecting them,—Peter's refutation of it in a discourse to the people,—its impression upon the auditors. The increasing respect for the Apostles,—the state of the

community in Jerusalem, iii. Peter and John cure, in the temple, one who was born lame ;—the consequent astonishment of the people. Peter declares Jesus to be the author of the miracle.

The chief of the temple hastens thither, sees the commotion, hears the orator, takes him prisoner along with his companion, iv. On the following day the Sanhedrim assemble :—The two Apostles are brought before them. Peter boldly defends himself. They liberate him and John under the injunction to preach Jesus no more. They return to their friends and meet with an enthusiastic reception, iv. 2. The intercommunity of Christian property ; the hypocritical fraud of Ananias and his wife, v. 14. Wonderful cures are effected by the Apostles ;—the Sanhedrim are perplexed on account of them ; they put the Apostles in prison. An Angel liberates them ;—they preach publicly in the temple ;—they are again apprehended—and brought before the Sanhedrim. They defend themselves ;—Gamaliel pleads,—in consequence of whose speech they are liberated with a punishment ;—but they continue to teach in the temple, vi. The Hellenists complain on account of no provision being made for their widows ;—Deacons are chosen for this purpose ;—Stephen is one of them. His zeal for conversion, and his violent death, viii. Philip teaches in Samaria ;—many become believers ;—among them Simon, who offers money for the gifts of the Spirit. On the road to Gaza, Philip meets the treasurer of Candace ;—instructs him respecting the Messiah, and baptises him, ix. Saul persecutes the believers in Jesus ;—in the act of so doing is converted, and then preaches Jesus at Damascus :—is on that account obliged to flee ;—goes to Jerusalem, and then to Tarsus, ix. 39. Peter visits the believers at Lydda ;—cures Æneas ;—visits Joppa ;—raises Tabitha ;—baptizes Cornelius at Cæsarea ;—defends himself before the congregation at Jerusalem, on account of the baptism of this heathen, xi. 19.

In the mean time the church at Antioch is established. Barnabas is sent thither from Jerusalem,—seeks Saul,—they exercise together the office of the ministry, xi. 26. Agabus presages a famine at Antioch. Saul and Barnabas are, on that account, sent to the holy city. Agrippa there puts to death James the elder ;—puts Peter in prison, who is miraculously liberated and escapes,—Agrippa dies, xii. 25. Now Saul and Barnabas are sent from Antioch to preach the Gospel in foreign lands. They go to Cyprus, from thence on the continent to Asia Minor. Their actions in Antioch *της Πισιδίας* ; in Iconium,—in Lystria ;—their return home, and account of their actions, xv. 1. Commotions in the Antiochian church, on account of the obligations of the Jewish observances on the heathens. Paul and Barnabas go a second time as messengers to the holy city. A solemn council in Jerusalem and a decision of the disputed question. A similar mission accompanies Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, xv. 36. They resolve on a new journey to Asia Minor ;—they separate ;—Paul goes with Silas. At Lystra they receive Timotheus for a companion ;—they travel through Phrygia, Galatia ;—they embark for Europe, xvi. 10. Luke associates himself with them at Troas,—their fate there. They travel through Macedonia to Athens and Corinth, xvii. 2. Paul teaches at Corinth ;—is banished ;—goes by way of Ephesus to Jerusalem ;—from thence returns to Ephesus, where he teaches until he is also banished thence, xx. 1. He directs his course again towards Macedonia and Achaia ; repairs once more with Luke to Jerusalem ;—is apprehended. Paul's defence before the people ;—before the Sanhedrim—before Felix—before Festus—before Agrippa the younger ;—his embarkation for Rome, occurrences on his voyage and arrival at Rome.

The whole is divided into THREE SECTIONS. The foundation of Christianity in Palestine ; the origin of the church at Antioch, and the expeditions from thence into the heathen countries of Asia. Finally, the expeditions to Europe, where

Luke accompanies Paul. This last division we might again divide into two parts;—the actions of Paul, after the historian had become more intimately connected with him, xvi. 10, and after Luke had become his inseparable companion, xx. 6. *to the end.*

Of one part of the events the author does not merely declare himself as an eye-witness, but includes himself as a participant in the narrative: yet we only find this in the more advanced periods of the history; Acts xv. 10, and xx. 6. But he might also have seen still a great part of the events which he describes in the *first section* of the book; unless, indeed, he had left Palestine, where he had resided during the actions of Jesus, immediately after his death. In the same manner as it would be precipitate and arbitrary to extend to all the occurrences in Palestine, the declaration which he has laid down in the proemium of the Gospel, without recollecting that this declaration, in reality, regards the contents of the Gospel only; so would it not be less arbitrary for us, not to admit his residence in this country, an hour longer than the period commemorated in the Gospel, requires. The proemium assures us of Luke's abode in Palestine during the time which he has mentioned, but, by no means excludes a prolongation of his presence there.

This being presupposed, we must certify ourselves from the construction of the Acts of the Apostles, how long we may and must consider him to have been present in Palestine. If we consider the uncommon knowledge which the author displays in the section relative to the events in Palestine, it is very credible that he had not yet left this theatre. This perfect acquaintance with facts, continues, without diminution, until the second section, *i. e.* until the establishment of the church at Antioch; Acts xi. 19. From this moment he turns away from Palestine, and only speaks of the chiefs and of the occurrences in the parent-school of Christianity, when deputies from Antioch make their appear-

ance in Jerusalem, and only as long as they are present there ; Acts, xii. 1—25, and xv. 4—30.

This quickly ceasing attention to Palestine, may have either originated in a sudden inactivity of the deacons and preachers of that school, consequently in the want of events worthy of remark ; or it is to be ascribed to the different point of view which the historian had taken.—In proportion as the first hypothesis is the less credible, so much the more certainty is attached to the second, that Luke had left Palestine, when Christianity began to flourish at Antioch. The cause of this change is manifested in the course of the narrative itself. For Luke went to Alexandria—Troas ; Acts, xvi. 8—10, where he became a stranger to the fortunes of the church at Antioch. On the other hand, he was indebted to this new residence for having become an eye-witness to Paul's reception in Europe, and to his first actions in this part of the earth ; also, for having become his travelling companion ; for having thus acquired his increased confidence, and thus becoming capacitated to become the Apostles, historian in the last epoch, in which the scenes of his undertakings and adventures were more and more remote.

We plainly see what influence each station of Luke had on his historical book, which we intend still farther to elucidate, by a farther consideration of the three historical sections. In the third section, Luke is copious and explicit as long as he is at Paul's side, or even only near to him ; Acts xvi. 10,—xviii. The farther the Apostle is separated from him, the shorter becomes the narrative. The occurrences of one year and a half at Corinth, he comprises in seventeen verses ; Acts, xviii. 1—17. We are almost exclusively apprised of the arrival and departure of Paul, without being informed of the importance of the result, and of the state of the community. Immediately after, he comprehends, in two verses, a journey from Ephesus to Jerusalem, from thence to Antioch, and from thence back to Ephesus, by way of Gala-

tia, and Phrygia ; Acts, xviii. 22—28. But when the Apostle rejoins Luke, xx. 6, the narrative is re-animated,—becomes copious and energetic by means of an agreeable circumstantiality.

In the second section, which is devoted to the occurrences at Antioch, he only is acquainted with the origin of the church,—the first scenes there,—and the journey undertaken by Paul and Barnabas from Antioch to Cyprus and Asia Minor ; xv. 1. But then he is deficient in materials until the second mission to Jerusalem, after which the Apostle abandoned Antioch as his station, and a few years afterwards Luke enters into a nearer connexion with Paul. As far as concerns the journey to Cyprus—the actions of the Apostles at the court of the pro-consul,—their departure,—the sermon in Antioch of Pisidia,—their fate at Iconium, Lystra, and other places ; Acts, xiii. 1,—xiv. 27, the chief incidents are well developed, and have a particular finish in the representation ; whereas things which do not exceed the limits of common occurrences, are hastily noticed, and the members of the narrative are so constituted, as probably the two teachers may have stated to the church of Antioch respecting their travels.

We next arrive at an epoch, void of events, relating to Palestine and Antioch, which in Luke, is called, in general terms, χρόνος οὐκ ὀλίγος, no inconsiderable time, Acts, xiv. 28, which actually comprises several years. On a correct estimate, the transactions of the first expedition into the heathen countries may assuredly have occupied two years ; nevertheless full five years, until the twelfth year of Claudius, are passed over, as though no Antioch had existed, and no Paul had lived. Not before the twelfth year of this emperor, as we shall see farther in the sequel from chronological data, the history again revives with remarkable dissensions about the obligation of the Apostolic ordinances ; Acts, xv. 1. But in the succeeding year Luke was in the

company of Paul, whence he was able to obtain an extensive knowledge of these very recent facts; xvi. 10. But the five preceding years, however, on that account, did not remain the less undescribed. Respecting these, he has not collected any accounts whilst in the company of Paul; much less still did he live during this time in those parts, which still continued to be the proper field of Christian history. Who would imagine, that during so long a time, nothing worthy of remark had taken place in Palestine and Syria, or that nothing was done by Paul, because his journey was devoid of incidents? If Luke had already gone to Troas, where Paul afterwards met him; or if he was somewhere else; he could, least of all, have been only in Antioch or Palestine. Nothing of the sort, besides, happened to the historian, in the whole book:—In the third section, the succession of time is consecutively maintained, even if the dates be not always copiously furnished.

The first section, compared with these two, has a fullness, of which no other can boast. Wherever the historian appears circumstantial and minutely informed in affairs and discourses, it is in the events of Palestine; whereas, those narratives only of the third section, where he was himself present at the transactions, have received that completion, which, in the first, they all alike possess. If ever, therefore, we have reason to recognise him as a spectator, it is here. A comparison with his most vigorous narratives, which he wrote from personal knowledge, substantiates this conclusion throughout the whole of the first section.

From these observations, the author's plan becomes easily intelligible. It was not his greatest object to memorialize what share each Apostle had taken in the promulgation of the faith, what churches he had founded, and what was his fate. If we ascribe to it such an object, the first section of his work would be but imperfect. Nor was it likewise his object, to treat fully, in a second part of the history of Paul up to a certain time; for he was not possessed of all

the requisite facts, as we perceive from the Acts of the Apostles themselves, and as we may farther be convinced from the eleventh chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians. He had not either of these plans in his mind, and collected his materials accordingly. It would have been too late to have begun to compile matter for a second part, if he only contemplated it, after having completed the Gospel. It was not a plan which he previously conceived, and hoped to execute by means of inquiries; but it was the abundance ✓ of recollections and annotations which he had already in store, which induced him to undertake the Acts of the Apostles. Regardless of perfection, and without unity of idea, he therefore detailed, at one time, remarkable incidents, at another, more extensive portions of history, as he had noted them down on the different stations, to which he was led by his circumstances of life. Through this fortunate change of locality, in which he, at different times, found himself, he nevertheless was enabled, in a general description, to furnish his readers with an idea, how Christianity, after the death of its founder, was preserved, established, and, in a short time communicated to many nations.

The years in which he composed his work, and the man for whom he wrote it, had a great influence upon its actual condition. The Gospel of Luke, the third in order of time, appeared immediately after the death of Paul, much more, therefore, the Acts of the Apostles; for that of Mark, although it preceded the Gospel of Luke, was not published until after the death of Peter and Paul. But if chasms are discovered in the succession of facts mentioned by this Apostle, it was impossible to receive from himself any farther disclosures and supplies; if the theatre of these facts lay in remote countries, it was a very tedious task to make the necessary inquiries concerning them. Luke was consequently obliged to renounce perfection, however anxious he may have been to attain it.

We must, however, particularly consider one circum-

stance, which is decisive as to the scope of this work. He dedicated it like the Gospel, to his patron Theophilus, and principally designed it for his instruction; Acts, i. 1. That he might be understood by him, Luke, in many places, has added elucidations, mostly of a geographical nature, until Paul reaches Italy. At this period he ceases to intersperse remarks of this description, being perfectly convinced, that Theophilus was henceforward, acquainted with the situation of the places. Similar to which, is his conduct respecting the facts themselves. Luke, with great circumstantiality, treats of the earlier deeds of the Apostle, as well as of those subsequently at Jerusalem, and afterwards, until he arrives at Rome; but scarcely is he arrived at Rome, ere he concludes his narrative, with the remark, that Paul passed full two years in this place, without adding another word.

Yet, as we see from the Epistles of the Apostle, which were written from thence, Luke was continually with him, was able to have been a co-spectator of every thing, and must have participated with him in many sufferings. And, indeed, these scenes, in the capital of the world, were particularly worthy of notice in the Christian history, and were perhaps the most peaceful in the life of the Apostle. The charges of his accusers, his trials, his defence, which, as the Apostle himself says, made his *fetters in the Prætorium honorable, and glorious to Christianity*; the new increase of converts which he gained to it; the endeavours of his enemies and his friends, for his destruction and preservation, were of great importance to his cotemporaries, and to the future worshippers of Jesus. Upon all this he does not dwell in a single word; he does not even mention the judicial sentence which decided the Apostle's affair, nor any cause of his enlargement.

Luke then was not concerned about his cotemporaries, who, in remote countries of Asia, had great difficulty in obtaining

circumstantial and authentic accounts of these events. As little was he concerned about posterity ; the friendship for the man, whose pious thirst after knowledge he wished to satisfy, removed both of these considerations from his eyes. He was the object ; others were only casual participators. The point of view, in which Luke thought of him, was consequently the limit, and the author had no occasion to go further than to conduct him to the point, from which his own knowledge began.

As we, therefore, on the one hand, are indebted to the friendship for Theophilus, for the resolution of the author, to disengage the history of Jesus from the interpolations of unauthenticated historians, by means of his Gospel, to separate from thence that which was substantiated, and to deposit it in a faithful historical work,—so can we only impute it to the relative circumstances in which his friend stood to the facts, in the Acts of the Apostles, that no historical information respecting the scenes at Rome, was imparted to his contemporaries and future ages.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

Much depends on the chronology of this treatise, with regard to the explanation of the Acts of the Apostles, and still more with regard to the elucidation of Paul's Epistles. I have great reason here to rectify some oversights, which I have made in* the former edition.

* In composing this sketch, among the more modern writings, I had consulted Vogel ; (Essay on the chronological stations in the Biography of Paul ;) in Gabler's Journal for select Theolog. Literat. vol. I, part I. A New Essay on the chronological stations in the Acts of the Apostles, ect., by Dr. Süsskind, in Bengel's Archives of Theology, and its most modern literature, vol. I, n. 12, and vol. II, part II. Kuinoel, (*Commentarius in libros Nov. Test. historicos*, vol. IV. *Prolegomen. in Act. Apost.*) Bertholdt. *Histor. Crit. Introduct.*

There is a passage which determines the chronology, in a manner, that few do, in Acts xi. 28.—xii. 25. Agabus had prophesied, at Antioch, an impending famine; on which account the believers made a collection for the support of the needy in Judaea, and sent Barnabas and Paul with it to Jerusalem. After Luke has mentioned the mission of the two teachers; Acts xi. 30., he passes to the remarkable occurrences, which, at that time, took place in the holy city; xii. 1; the apprehension of Peter, occasioned by the satisfaction of the people, at the execution of James; then Peter's miraculous escape and removal from Jerusalem; and the counterpart of it in the death of Herod Agrippa. After this, the deputies, as Luke says, returned to Antioch; Acts, xii. 25. The chronological coincidence of these events, with the residence of the two delegates at Jerusalem, rests, according to the representation of the historian, not merely on the determination of the time κατ' ἔχουσιν τον καιρον, xi. 1, but also on the farther disposition of the narrative, by means of which, he includes these incidents in the residence of Barnabas and Paul, and only fixes their return home to Antioch, after the conclusion of them.

Consequently the death of Agrippa would also be included in this period, which followed soon after the circumstances just mentioned. Immediately after the feast, at which Peter's execution was to have taken place, the king left Jerusalem,* his usual residence, and went to Cæsarea, the place of his death, according to Luke, and according to Josephus; Acts, xii. 9. Jos. Ant. L. xix. c. 8. n. 4. The departure for that

to the writings of the Old and New Testament, part V. No. 2. p. 629. The extent to which I limited my work, did not permit me to meet individually and explicitly, all the objections in which I differ from these learned men, though in the development of my proofs, I have carefully attended to them.

* Jos. Ant. L. xix. cap. 7. n. 3. ἡδὲ αὐτῶν διαίτα καὶ συνεχῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμοῖς ἦν.

place happened immediately on Peter's delivery. Since then the delegates were not pressed for time, the final fate of the King might have easily been decided, whilst they were yet in the holy city. As they had no message to bring back, in reply, which demanded expedition, and as there was no more occasion for them at Antioch, as we see soon after their return, Acts, xiii. 1, 2, they had no inducement to hasten their return home.

However, even admitting the death of Agrippa to have been retarded yet for some months after his arrival in Cæsarea, and to have been related instantly rather for the sake of completion, than because it took place at the time, during which the two teachers were at Jerusalem; even admitting this, it would still be during the year in which Agrippa died, in which the events recorded, are placed.

This year we find then exactly cited by Josephus:—"Agrippa died after he had reigned four years under Caius, and three years under Claudius Cæsar." He remarks for a still more complete determination of the time, that "the third year under Claudius, had already expired," *τρίτον έτος ήδη πεπληρωτο*. *

The deputies of the people of Antioch, (that we may take them also into consideration,) arrived at Jerusalem at the feast of the passover; for the apprehension of Peter took place at the time of the unleavened bread, Acts, xiii. 3, and the execution was to take place after the feast; xii. 4; thus Agrippa's death did not occur until after the passover.

Now Claudius assumed the empire of the world, in the month of January, and his third year was already completed,

* In the book on the Jewish war, ii. c. 11. n. 6. he twice only gives a round number, three; for Caius Cæsar has not completed the fourth year. But Antiq. L. xix. c. 8. n. 2. he has described the time with all the above quoted definitions: *τετταρας μιν ουν επι Γαϊου Καισαρος βασιλευσεν ενιαυτους—τρεις δε επιλαβων επι Κλαυδιου Καισαρος Αυτοκρατοριας. κ. τ. λ.*

when Agrippa died. This passover, therefore, cannot be the passover of the third year of Claudius; but it concludes with the beginning of his fourth year. By this, the period is most perfectly determined; in the third month of the fourth year of the reign of Claudius, Barnabas and Paul had arrived at Jerusalem, with the contributions of the people of Antioch; some time afterwards, Agrippa died.

After Agrippa's death, the famine foretold by Agabus, came to pass; viz. under Cuspius Fadus, who, on account of the minority of Agrippa the younger, was placed by Rome, over the management of his paternal dominions, and under Tiberius Alexander, who succeeded him in this office.*

This being premised, we must once more return to the mission of Barnabas and Paul. Some imagined that they discovered allusion to it in the Epistle to the Galatians, ii. 1—15, and thence drew conclusions as to the chronology, because the Apostle begins to speak of it with the words, *within fourteen years came I again to Jerusalem*. The date is of importance, on which account it is incumbent on us to know, to what fact the words cited refer.

I was of opinion, in which I had illustrious predecessors, that Paul spoke of the mission about the impending famine, but this mission cannot be intended; it must be a later one which he again undertook with Barnabas, on another occasion; Acts, xv. 1—4. My reasons are the following: It was not yet so long, since Paul had attained such estimation in the Christian community; Acts, xi. 25. cf. Gal. i. 21—25; and at the time when he was sent by the church, at Antioch, to be the bearer of their charitable contributions, he was only a local teacher and assistant to Barnabas, at Antioch; Acts, xi. 22—26. His call to the apostolical office, was only acknowledged after his return from this mission; Acts, xiii. 2.

But in the Epistle to the Galatians, he already appears

* Jos. Ant. L. xx. c. 5. n. 2. compared with c. 2. n. 6. and Ant. L. 111. c. 15. n. 3.

as a distinguished Apostle, corroborated in his claims, by his actions. He had already been an Apostle among the Gentiles, Gal. ii. 2, and the proofs were indubitable, that the instruction of the Gentiles, ἀποστολῆς εὐαγγελίου and ἀποστολῆς, was confided to him, so that he, as a teacher of the heathens, ranked with Peter, the teacher of the Jews; Gal. ii. 7, 8; the appointment to this office, also, which he had received from a higher power, χάρις δοθεῖσα, was so authenticated, that James, Peter, and John, entered into a division with him, by virtue of which they reserved Judaea to themselves, but assigned to him the wide world; Gal. ii. 9.

Such a thing could only have taken place, when Paul had returned from his great journey among the Heathens, Acts, xiii. 2.—xv, and was sent the second time, with Barnabas, from Antioch to Jerusalem, to desire a decision of the polemical question, respecting the obligation of the Jewish observances; Acts, xv. 1—30. This mission alone can be intended; it took place, as he says, within fourteen years, since which, he had, three years after his conversion, presented himself as a Christian and fellow-believer, to the Apostles and to the community at Jerusalem; Gal. i. 18, to ii. 1. The intermediate journey to Jerusalem, with the charitable contributions of the people of Antioch, Paul has consequently passed over, in silence, in the Epistle to the Galatians, because he did not intend to sketch his biography, but to show in this composition, from facts, that he had not received his illumination from the Apostles; that he was not inferior to them in authority and Apostolic power, and that he stood in a rank and dignity equal to them, according to their own confession. If, then, this intermediate journey had furnished him with nothing useful to his purpose, it was superfluous to mention it.

The fourteen years mentioned, end with the mission respecting the Jewish observances, and begin from his first appearance as a Christian, in Jerusalem. In what year, now

does this scene fall? Let us consult the circumstances under which it took place, and see how much assistance we shall thence derive for the discovery of the year. At that time he came from Damascus, Gal. i. 17, 18, where he was obliged to flee, because he had irritated the Jews by his discourses, and with great difficulty escaped over the wall, in a basket, because the Jews sought after his life, and watched the gates; Acts, ix. 22—29. Of this circumstance, Paul again makes mention, in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, xi. 32, 33, where we see that the governor of the city, whom Aretas the king had in Damascus, ὁ ἐν Δαμασκῷ ἑθναρχὴς, watched the city in person, or caused it to be watched, and authorised the Jews to this violence, and supported them in its execution. When did Aretas obtain the government of Damascus?

Not long before Pompey, on his return from the Mithridatic war, came into these parts, the people of Damascus, for the sake of ridding themselves of a hated prince, called Aretas, King of Arabia, Petræa, to the sovereignty of Cœle-Syria.* Scarcely had Pompey approached, ere he intermeddled in these affairs, according to the custom of the Romans, caused Damascus to be taken by his generals,† and Aretas to be sought in the interior of his dominions, by the Roman arms. But the Romans had a difficult task in these defiles and deserts, and he, on his part, did his utmost to endanger them; consequently a peace was made.‡ Damascus remained henceforward under the protection of the Romans. We see from this period its coins stamped with the heads of Augustus and Tiberius.§

Not long before the death of Tiberius, it was involved in

* Jos. Ant. L. xiii. c. 15. n. 2.

† Ant. L. xiv. c. 2. n. 3.

‡ Ant. L. xiv. c. 5.

§ Eckhel, Doctr. num. vet. P. 1, vol. III. p. 330, 331. The inscriptions are all Greek.

a dispute with Sidon respecting the boundaries ; both cities contended for their rights before a plenipotentiary in Syria.* Still it remained free, under the Roman protection.

About this time we again meet with an Aretas, King of Petræa, who, at first was at variance with the Romans, in consequence of which, Augustus, for a long time, refused to recognize him as King.† Herod Antipas carried on an unsuccessful war against him, and afterwards solicited assistance from the Romans.‡ Vitellius received the commission to wage war against Aretas. But whilst he was marching towards him, he received the account of Tiberius's death. Instantly Vitellius retraced his steps, under the plea that his authority had ceased.§ The victory over Herod ; the return of Vitellius ; the change of the Roman emperor, and the warlike preparations which had already been made, seemed to have encouraged the Arabian to reconquer Damascus, which had been torn from his ancestors. The *raison de guerre*, as it is commonly called, rendered it expedient to deprive the Romans of a city which served them as a depôt, and which now served|| Aretas as the protection of his states.

A festival, probably the Passover, was at hand, when Vitellius retired with his legions,¶ for Tiberius died on the 16th

* Jos. Ant. L. xviii. c. 6. n. 3.

† Ant. L. xvi. c. 9. n. 4.

‡ Ant. L. xviii. c. 5. n. 1. and 3.

§ Ant. xviii. c. 5. n. 4.

|| Some etymologists have absurdly and fancifully deduced this name from the Greek. The Arabic version writes it *Arata*, probably not quite correctly ; yet that the name was of common occurrence among the Arabs, and perhaps an official title successively bestowed on the different monarchs of these parts, and not written with any considerable variation from that in the Arabic version, we are assured by the cities which bore a name derived from hence, and from the wells and springs, which have an equally evident derivation. We should suppose the name to have been written *Arat*, without the final *elif*, of the Arabian translator.—*Translator*.

¶ Ant. L. xviii. c. 5. n. 3.

of March, of which Vitellius was informed in less than three weeks, and dismissed the army in the station, which it had occupied during the winter. Now the time had arrived for the Arabian to invest Damascus and to open the siege. If it be objected, that Vitellius would not have suffered such a thing I am of opinion, that he was indeed obliged to suffer it; if his authority was at an end, as he himself declared, with respect to a war already proclaimed, much more was it at an end, with regard to a new one. However, the dominion of the Nabathæan King, and his deputies at Damascus, did not last long. Before the expiration of the second year of his reign, Caius Cæsar disposed the affairs of Asia: he gave a King to the Ituræan Arabs, who bordered upon the Nabathæan, and upon one side also, upon the dominions of Damascus, and frequently harassed it by surprises; he likewise severed some other parts from Arabia.* Amidst such arrangements, Damascus, a powerful Roman garrison-city could not be overlooked. Consequently, the Arab possessed it, at the most, only from the middle of the first, till nearly the end of the second year of Caius Cæsar. If we place the jeopardy and flight of Paul in the middle of this period, they fall in the beginning of the second of Caius's government of the world. If we commence at this time, the **FOURTEEN YEARS** reach to Paul's second mission to Jerusalem, respecting the obligation of the Jewish observances, and coincide with **THE TWELFTH YEAR OF CLAUDIUS**.

But, if it is the flight from Damascus to Jerusalem, to which Paul commencing from his conversion, counts **THREE YEARS**; Gal. i. 15—18.† These three years are cotempo-

* Dio. Cass. L. lix. p. 649. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Σαίμῳ μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἰτουραίων τῶν Ἀραβῶν, Κοτὺ δὲ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν τὴν σμικροτέραν καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας τινα....ἐχαρίσατο.

† Some would reckon these fourteen years, not from the flight from Damascus to Jerusalem, but from the conversion; in which case the

rary with the first of Caius, and the two last of Tiberius. Tiberius reigned twenty-two years and a half, minus one month. The two years which fall to the share of Tiberius, therefore, begin nearly about the *middle of the twenty-first* of this monarch :—about this time Paul's conversion took place.

From the end of the administration of Felix, a chronological datum results to the Acts of the Apostles. Under Felix, Paul was seized at Jerusalem and conducted a prisoner to Cæsarea ; Acts, xxi. 27.—xxiii. 24. There he remained until Felix was recalled by the Roman emperor, and Porcius succeeded to him: the latter, immediately on the commencement of his administration, sent the Apostle to Rome, because he had desired to receive his sentence from the tribunal of the emperor, xxv. xxvi.

When then did Felix retire from his post ? Josephus the Jew, affords us in some measure, a definition of the time. He says, at the very beginning of his biography, “ I was born in the first year of Caius Cæsar ; in my twenty-sixth year,

three years would be included in them. They adduce as the reason, that perhaps Paul has carried every thing back to this, which was the most remarkable event of his life. But in the Epistle to the Galatians, his conversion is less his object, than the assertion, that he had not received Christianity at Jerusalem through the instruction of the Apostles, but through a higher communication. This he assigns to the period, in which his instruction must have taken place, by a statement of the places to which he had gone, and to which he had not gone : οὐδὲ ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα. Gal. i. 17. ἐπειτα—ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα : yet only for 15 days :—18, and ἐπειτα ἦλθον : but not to Jerusalem (21.) Where *the going* and *the not going* is the main point ; but not the conversion : *the subsequent going* Gal. ii. 1, must refer to a preceding one. Thus much (not losing sight of the expression *παλιν*,) is contained in the subject itself. But the word *παλιν* (*παλιν ἀνεβην*) where it is not used as an antithesis, is in its signification determinate and repetitive, and denotes the recurrence of the same thing, where a similar case precedes it. Besides, it may be placed for ἐκ δευτέρου, το τρίτον and τέταρτον.

(he continues farther on,) I was obliged to go to Rome on a commission.* For when Felix had the administration, he had sent some priests, to whom I was nearly related, to Rome, to vindicate themselves from some trifling charges, I wished to save them," &c.

Caius and Claudius together reigned seventeen years and eight months; Josephus must consequently, have lived eight years and four months under Nero, ere he had attained his twenty-sixth year, and performed his journey to Rome. Felix was at that time still in Judaea.

So should we believe, but he was no longer in his post, when Josephus complained of his oppressions. Such an undertaking whilst he was in authority, was hazardous in the highest degree. We also find, that immediately after his dismissal from the office, his accusers appeared against him, and sought justice at Rome.† We must, therefore, admit the recall of Felix, to have been before the journey of Josephus.

The subsequent condition of Felix places his recall in the seventh year of Nero. The complaints alleged by the Jews were so important and well founded, that the Governor might have forfeited his life. Nero pardoned him, solely through the intercession of Pallas. He was brother to Felix. But Pallas himself lost his life in the eighth consulate under this emperor;‡ it is, therefore, necessary to place the departure of Felix one year before this event.

I have clearly noticed some objections which have been made to it. In the year in which Pallas died, P. Marius and

* Vita. Josephi. § 3. and according to the edition of Basil, p. 626.

† Jos. Ant. L. xx. c. 8. n. 9. Josephus went considerably later than these: for, when he executed his commission in Rome, Poppæa was already the declared spouse of the emperor; (Vita. c. 3.) which only took place in the eighth year of Nero.

‡ Tacit. Annal. L. xiv. towards the end. Dio. Cass. L. lxii. p. 706, 707. Joseph. loc. cit.

L. Asinius were consuls, Tacit. Ann. xiv. 48, and as Seneca after the death of Burrhus, e. 53, says, in the address to Nero, "THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THY REIGN," Burrhus was perhaps still alive, when the plaintiffs appeared against Felix, Jos. Ant. xx. c. 8. n. 9; yet he was one of the first victims, who fell in this year, to the misfortune of Rome. But I will build nothing upon this; for the year of Pallas's death is decisive. Felix must have been recalled previously to it, i. e. in the seventh year of Nero.

After having extracted the preceding events, which are united in a definite period, we are obliged to fill up a considerable interval which is important with regard to the chronological circumstances of several of Paul's Epistles. It comprises the years which are between the second mission of Paul, on account of the obligation of the Jewish ordinances, and his apprehension at Jerusalem. Some events and actions carry with them definitions of time, others again do not.

When they had returned to Antioch from their mission to the holy city, Paul and Barnabas continued their ministerial occupations; Acts, xv. 35. In the mean time Peter arrived at Antioch, where the well known scene between him and Paul took place, Gal. ii. 2. After some time, Paul and Barnabas resolved to undertake a second journey to the people of Asia Minor, Acts, xv. 36, but separated from each other on account of Mark. Paul went afterwards with Silas.—The period from the return from Jerusalem until the beginning of the journey to Asia Minor seems to comprise several months. That which may be said of it, with some probability, is, that it was not undertaken, until the inclement part of the winter was passed. Barnabas, whose only object was to visit Cyprus, probably entered upon his journey during the autumn, that he might reach it, before the setting in of winter. It would, however, be immaterial to us, whether Paul had. or had not begun his journey during the harvest.

Paul, probably, at the end of winter, commenced his journey to Cilicia, came to Pisidia, Phrygia, and Galatia, and obeyed the summons of a vision to go to Europe, embarked, travelled through Macedonia, visited Athens, and arrived at Corinth, where he remained. It was probably late in the year when the Apostle arrived at this station; Acts, xv. 40.—xviii. 1. Here he abode one year and six months; Acts, xviii. 2. From autumn to spring, six months; from spring until the following spring, one year. As soon as the sea was navigable, he embarked for Asia, Acts, xviii. 18, and landed at Ephesus; but did not allow himself to be detained here on account of the Feast, which he had determined to celebrate at Jerusalem; Acts, xviii. 20, 21. The feast is not named; but it is most likely the Pentecost, for, with the spring voyage from Corinth he could hardly have reached Jerusalem by this circuitous way, at the feast of the passover.

From Palestine he went on a visit to Antioch, where he staid, *χρονον σινα*, an indefinite time, then travelled through Galatia and Phrygia, Acts, xviii. 23, and according to his promise, came down to Ephesus. As we shall show in the treatise in the Epistle to Titus, Paul passed the winter in Nicopolis, on the Issus, at the ports of Asia Minor. From thence he might reach Ephesus, by way of Galatia and Phrygia, in a couple of months.

At Ephesus he taught during three months in the Synagogue, which he, however, abandoned, and established his pulpit in the school of Tyrannus, where he continued to preach for two years; Acts, xix. 8, 9, 10. He had intended to stay at Ephesus, till Whitsuntide, 1 Cor. xvi. 8, but was driven away some time before on account of an insurrection; Acts, xix. 21. xx. 2. He then directed his course to Macedonia, which he traversed preaching and exhorting, till he came into Greece, where he staid three months; then he began his return, and at the end of the paschal days embarked for Asia. xx. 3. 6, and intended, if possible, to

reach Jerusalem by Whitsuntide, xx. 6. Consequently, a year had elapsed from his departure from Ephesus shortly before Whitsuntide, to his arrival at Jerusalem at Whitsuntide.

We are forced, particularly, to notice this last voyage on account of doubts which have been raised against the narrative.* Let us, therefore, accompany the Apostle, that we may convince ourselves how far the supposed difficulties are well founded. Seven days after Easter, he left Philippi, and arrived at Troas five days afterwards, where he remained seven days; Acts, xx. 6. From Troas, he went through Assos, Mitylene, Chios, Samos, to Miletus in four days, Acts xx. 13, 14, 15, for Assos is at a small distance from Troas, and not a day's journey, as it is stated. The ship had only to sail round cape Lectos, and then to take in the Apostle, to continue its course to Mitylene. The days hitherto enumerated, are twenty-three. But it was the third of unleavened bread from which they commenced the computation of the fifty to Whitsuntide; consequently, three days must be deducted from our account: twenty then had expired, and thirty were yet left to Whitsuntide.

The distance from Samos to Miletus is not great, compared with the other days' journeys, the ship thus arrived in broad day light at Miletus. We will, however, build nothing upon that. Paul sent to Ephesus, convoked the chiefs of the community, consoled them on their arrival, took leave, and set sail without delay; Acts, xx. 16—38. The number of days is unknown, yet confessedly, this may have been performed in three days. From Miletus he went by Cos and Rhodes to Patara, in three days, xxi. 1. At Patara he was forced to go on board another vessel; what delay this caused we know not, nor do we know how long

* Berholdt's *Histor. Crit. Introduction to the Old and New Test.* vol. vi. note 2. to § 726. p. 3375.

the voyage to Tyre lasted, which, at all events, amounts to double the voyage from Miletus to Patara. Luke only recommences his journey on the continent. At Tyre they tarried seven days, Acts, xxi. 4, from thence they went to Ptolemais, a day's journey, and remained there one day, xxi. 7. On the following day they went to Cæsarea, where they made a longer stay, *ἡμέρας πλείους*, for which no definite computation exists. The known periods from Tyre to Cæsarea, allowing one day from Ptolemais to Cæsarea, amount to ten days. The time of the stay at Miletus, at Patara, of the passage to Tyre, and finally, of the several days at Miletus is not known ; for these, however, twenty days remain. But from these we must also deduct one day for the journey from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, as well as a second, because the Apostle was already, on the day previous to the feast, conducted to the house of James. Consequently, we have still eighteen days before us for the undetermined intervals. If then the business at Miletus was despatched in three days ; If Paul could set sail on the following day from Patara ; if the passage thence to Tyre was performed in six days, the number of eight days would be left for the *ἡμέρας πλείους* at Cæsarea. There appears no impossibility in this. That the passage was favorable, we know from that part of it to Patara ; that it was quick beyond expectation, we know from the sequel ; there would not otherwise have been so many days left, which Paul was able to dedicate to his friends at Tyre, Ptolemais, and at Cæsarea. Paul, therefore, arrived, according to his wish, at Jerusalem by Whitsuntide, Acts, xx. 16, where he was taken to prison. From his departure from Ephesus, until his apprehension at Jerusalem, nearly one year elapsed, i. e. from Whitsuntide to Whitsuntide.

These are the intermediate events between the mission of Paul from Antioch, on account of the Jewish observances and his apprehension at Jerusalem.

In part, as we have seen, they carry dates with them ; in part, these may be inferred with probability from circumstances ; as we have discovered the first, and deduced the others from inferences, to fill up the SPACE OF SEVEN YEARS. The mission, which is recorded, took place in the twelfth year of Claudius ; if we start from hence, and continue our computation for seven years, we shall stop at the fifth year of Nero.

In the seventh year of Nero, Felix laid down his office in Judaea. Paul had passed two whole years in prison under him, Acts, xxiv. 27, consequently, he was seized in the fifth year of Nero. The periods compared with the computation in the preceding sections, coincide exactly with each other. Festus, now cited Paul before him, and after some intermediate occurrences, sent him to Rome, according to his desire. The year was far advanced ; yet on account of the deviations of the Jewish months from equations, until the intercalation each time brought the year again into the track of the seasons ; the measure of time, according to our monthly computations, can only be discovered by entering into tedious particulars. Thus far, we may with certainty assume, that the fast of the seventh month fell as late as possible ; Acts, xxvii. 9 ; in which case it ended on our second of October. The Apostle was obliged to stay for three months during the winter in Malta ; Acts, xxviii. 2 ; that is, till March, when navigation again commenced. Thenceforward, the voyage continued without interruption ; the Apostle arrived at Rome in the spring of the eighth year of Nero's reign ; he remained there two full years, and was set at liberty in the Spring of the tenth year of Nero ; not without a fortunate dispensation ; for in this very year, during the autumn, Nero's persecution broke out.

* * * * *

The Apostle, as we perceive from some of his epistles, which he wrote from Rome, intended to visit his friends

again in the East; on the other hand, he expresses his wish in the Epistle to the Romans, to go to Spain, when he had seen Rome.

One of the most ancient Christian records, assures us, that the latter took place. He went to the western limits of the globe ἐπὶ τέσμα ὁυσεως, and died after his return, ἐπὶ των ἡγουμένων.* I do not see what can be objected to the account of a man who was confidentially intimate with the Apostle, and who lived in Rome, from whence the journey was undertaken, unless the record be rejected with the greatest injustice; especially, as he wrote this to the Corinthian community, which had means of being acquainted with the fortunes of Paul, who not so very long ago, had lived and taught among them.

But if it be resolved not to acknowledge the writing as a work of Clemens, the advantage in favor of its opponents is not very great. They cannot, at all events, deny that the Epistle existed in the second century. The author was then, according to time, fully qualified to speak from accredited traditions. And now one word more. In the second century, the church of Corinth was also capable of knowing whether the Epistle was authentic, and on the other hand, of objecting to it; yet they, every year, publicly read it in their congregations, down to the times of Eusebius, thus annually renewing the testimony of its authenticity.

The words ἐπὶ των ἡγουμένων, may be understood of the last times of Nero, in which Tigellinus and Nymphidius Sabinus governed arbitrarily, and also afterwards, when Sabinus claimed the sword from Tigellinus, and affected the management of affairs for Galba, until his arrival.† In this case, the explanation accords with the other accounts, which impute the death of the Apostle to Nero's reign. At

* Clem. Rom. Epist. 1. ad Corinth. Sect. 5

† Plutarch in Galbā, c. 8

least no power of a new emperor was instrumental to his execution. A second exposition, which refers in the words ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἡγούμενων to the times of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, disclaims agreement with the rest of the historical declarations.*

But the first happened at least in part, the fact immediately follows, according to the succession of time, the voyage to the western frontier of the continent, and immediately precedes the death of the Apostle, of which it was the principal cause. Paul attempted to go to the East, and arrived as far as Corinth, where he met Peter, connected himself with him, and went with him to Rome. This Dionysius of Corinth testifies ; he says Peter and Paul met each other in our Corinth, and went together to Italy, where they died on account of Christianity.† In the eleventh year of Nero, Peter was yet in Asia, provided he wrote from Babylon, his first Epistle on account of the alarms occasioned by the persecution of Nero. About this time Paul was on his journey to the western border, so that they could not have met each other in Corinth, before the twelfth year of Nero.

We here insert a synopsis of the history of the Apostle Paul, according to the chronological data which we have discovered, a table from the time of his conversion to that of his liberation from the Roman prison.

The XXI. year of Tiberius, (about the middle of it,) or $\frac{21}{22}$, in the Christian era, is the commencement of Paul's conversion. - - - - - 36

* It is true, that the ancients mention the reign of Nero ; yet they differently state the time. The most definite account I find in Jerome Script. Eccles. v. Paul. Hic ergo decimo quarto Neronis anno, eodem die, quô Petrus Romæ capite truncatus . . . anno post passionem Domini tricessimio septimo.

† Apud. Euseb. H. E. l. ii. c. 25.

The XXIIIrd or last of Tiberius, and the first Caius Cæsar, are	- - - - -	38
The IInd year from Caius Cæsar, is	- - - - -	39
Paul escapes from Damascus, and goes to Jerusalem.		
The IVth year of Claudius Cæsar (at the commencement) is	- - - - -	45
Paul's first mission from Antioch to Jerusalem.		
The XIIth year of Claudius, is	- - - - -	53
Paul's second mission from Antioch to Jerusalem.		
The XIIIth year of Claudius, is	- - - - -	54
Paul travels at the end of winter through Asia Minor to Europe, as far as Corinth, here he preaches in the following autumn.		
The XIVth year of Claudius, is	- - - - -	55
Paul is at Corinth during the winter and spring, till the following autumn.		
The Ist year of Nero, is	- - - - -	56
Paul is during the winter at Corinth; embarks for Asia in the spring; arrives at Jerusalem at the Pentecost; and then goes to Antioch.		
The IInd year of Nero, is	- - - - -	57
Paul winters at Nicopolis, goes to Ephesus and preaches there.		
The IIIrd year of Nero, is	- - - - -	58
Paul preaches at Ephesus.		
The IVth year of Nero, is	- - - - -	59
Paul is at Ephesus and in Asia till the Pentecost,—embarks for Macedonia.		

The Vth year of Nero, is	-	-	-	60
Paul winters in Achaia, arrives again at Jerusalem at the Pentecost,—is apprehended.				
The VI. year of Nero, is	-	-	-	61
Paul in prison at Cæsarea.				
The VIIth year of Nero, is	-	-	-	62
Paul in prison at Cæsarea,—is sent to Rome in the autumn.				
The VIIIth year of Nero, is	-	-	-	63
Paul arrives in the spring,—is a prisoner at Rome.				
The IXth year of Nero, is	-	-	-	64
Paul is a prisoner at Rome.				
The Xth year of Nero, is	-	-	-	65
Paul is liberated in the spring.				

Let us say a few words more in explanation of this chronological table. Jesus was entering on the XXXth year of his life, in the XVth year of Tiberius's reign, when the baptism was administered to him, Luke, iii. 23, ὡσεὶ ἑτῶν τριακοντὰ ἄρχομενος. This determination of time, I here assume to be correct, without any farther investigation, which, since it requires a treatise to itself, I must here prove. The baptism preceded the first passover, nearly fifty or sixty days, forty of which were spent in the desert: the rest belong to the preceding events at Bethabara, and in Galilee; John, i. 29—ii. 13. The beginning of these fifty or sixty days before the passover, falls in the month of February. But February is about the middle of the XVth year of Tiberius's reign. For Augustus, from whose death the commencement of Tiberius's

reign must be counted, died on the 19th of August,* From about the middle of February, till the middle of August, six months expired; there are consequently, six more wanting to complete the year.

Tiberius died in the XXIIIrd year of his detested reign, on the 16th of the month of March.† If the XXXth year of Jesus began in the middle of his XVth year, or in February, the XXXVIIIth Christian year must have begun in the middle of his XXIIIrd. Since he, as we have said, died in March, he did not live longer than one month in this XXXVIIIth. Christian year. It continues consequently in the first of Caius Cæsar, and his second is the XXXIXth. of the Christian era.

Caius did not terminate his fourth or last year; he had attained the highest power in March, and died on the 24th of January.‡ This, however, makes little difference to the Christian year, which continues to run on pretty much the same under his successor.

Claudius assumed the government, and administered it full thirteen years, and a part of the 14th, until the middle of October.§ The year of Nero which begins from thence, con-

* Dio. Cass. L. LVI. p. 590. Wechel says: *τη ἐννεα και δεκατη του Αὔγουστου*. Sueton. c. 100. in Aug. says the same, according to Roman mode; *decimâ quartâ Kal. Septemb.*

† Tacit. L. vi. Ann. c. 50. Sueton. Tiber. c. 73. Eutrop. c. 11. agree as to xvii. Kal. April. but Dio. Cas. L. lviii. fin. *τη ἑκτη και εικοστη του Μαρτίου ἡμερα* has by mistake read vii. Kal. for xvii. Kal. The declaration of Josephus is very exact, Bell. Jud. L. ii. c. 9. n. 5. *ἐστη δυο προς εἰκοσι και τρεις ἡμερας ἐπι μηνιν ἑξ.*

‡ Sueton. in Caio. c. 53. *Nono Kal. Febr.* and c. 59. *imperavit triennio, et decem mensibus, diebus octo.* Joseph. B. Jud. L. ii. c. 11. has probably mistaken *μηνας ὅκτω* for *diebus octo.*

§ Sueton. Claud. c. 45. *excessit. iiii. Idus Octobris.* cf. Tacit. Ann. xii. 69. Dio. L. lxi. cap. penult gives it correctly; *μετηλλαξε τη σβητη και δεκατη του Οκτωβριου.*

sequently precedes the Christian, by nearly one quarter of a year and some days.

Note—This article is taken from the Translation of Hug's Introduction, by the "Rev. DANIEL GUILDFORD WAIT, LL. D. Rector of Blagdon, Somersetshire, member of St. John's College, Cambridge, and of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain."

HORSLEY'S DISCOURSES

ON

PROPHECY.



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2 PETER, i. 20, 21.

Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time—or, as it is in the margin—“came not at any time”—by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

IN the verse which immediately precedes my text, the apostle mentions a “sure word of prophecy,” which he earnestly commends to the attention of the faithful. This word of prophecy, I conceive, is to be understood, not of that particular word of the psalmist,* nor of that other of Isaiah,† to which the voice uttered from heaven at the baptism, and repeated from the *shechinah* at the transfiguration, hath by many been supposed to allude;—not of either of these, nor of any other particular prediction, is St. Peter’s prophetic word, in my judgment, to be understood; but of the entire volume of the prophetic writings—of the whole body of the prophecies which were extant in the Christian church, at the time when the apostle wrote this second epistle. You are all, I doubt not, too well acquainted with your Bibles, to be told by me, that this epistle was written at no long interval of time before the blessed apostle’s martyrdom. He tells you so himself, in the fourteenth verse

* Psalms ii. 7.

† Isaiah xlii. 1.

of this first chapter. The near prospect of putting off his mortal tabernacle, was the occasion of his composing this epistle, which is to be considered as his dying charge to the church of God. Now, the martyrdom of St. Peter took place in Nero's persecution, when his fellow-laborer St. Paul had been already taken off. St. Paul, therefore, we may reasonably suppose, was dead before St. Peter wrote this epistle, which, by necessary consequence, must have been of later date than any of St. Paul's. Again, three of the four gospels, St. Matthew's, St. Mark's, and St. Luke's, were all published some years before St. Peter's death; for St. Luke's, which is beyond all controversy the latest of the three, was written about the time when St. Paul was released from his first imprisonment at Rome. It appears from these circumstances, that our Saviour's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem and his last advent, which is recited in the gospels of the three first evangelists, and St. Paul's predictions of Antichrist, the dreadful corruptions of the later times, and the final restoration of Jewish people, delivered in various parts of his epistles, must have been current among Christians at the time when this second epistle of St. Peter was composed. These prophecies, therefore, of the Christian Church, together with the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, the books of the Jewish prophets, the book of Psalms, and the more ancient oracles preserved in the books of Moses, make up that system of prophecy which is called by the apostle, "the prophetic word," to which, as it were, with his last breath, he gives it in charge to the true believer to give heed. If I seem to exclude the book of the Apocalypse from that body of prophecy which I suppose the apostle's injunction to regard, it is not that I entertain the least doubt about the authenticity or authority of that book, or that I esteem it less deserving of attention than the rest of the prophetic writings; but for this reason, that, not being till many years after Peter's death, it cannot

be understood to make a part of the writings to which *he* alludes. However, since the sentiments delivered to St. Peter are to be understood to be the mind of the Holy Spirit which inspired him,—since the injunction is general, prescribing what is the duty of Christians in all ages, no less than of those who were the contemporaries of the apostle,—since the Apocalypse, though not then written, was nevertheless, an object of the Spirits prescience, as a book which, in no distant time, was to become a part of the oracular code, we will, if you please, amend our exposition of the apostle's phrase: we will include the Apocalypse in the word of prophecy; and we will say that the whole body of the prophecies, contained in the inspired books of the Old and New Testament, is that to which the Holy Spirit, in the admonition which he dictated to St. Peter, requires all who look for salvation to give heed, “as to a lamp shining in a dark place;”—a discovery from heaven of the schemes of Providence, which, however imperfect, is yet sufficient for the comfort and support of good men, under all the discouragements of the present life: as it furnishes a demonstration—not of equal evidence, indeed, with that which the final catastrophe will afford, but a certain demonstration—a demonstration drawn from fact and experience, rising in evidence as the ages of the world roll on, and, in every stage of it, sufficient for the passing generation of mankind, “that the Most High ruleth in the kingdoms of the earth,”—that his providence directeth all events for the final happiness of the virtuous,—that “there is a reward for the righteous,—that there is a God who will judge the earth.” In all the great events of the world, especially in those which more immediately concern the true religion and the church, the first Christians saw, and we of these ages see, the extended arm of Providence by the lamp of the prophetic word, which justly, therefore, claims the heedful attention of every Christian. in every age, “till

the morning dawn, and the day-star arise in our hearts,"—till the destined period shall arrive, for that clearer knowledge of the Almighty, and of his ways, which seems to be promised to the last ages of the church, and will terminate in that full understanding of the justice, equity, and mercy of God's dealings with mankind, which will make a chief part of the happiness of the righteous in the future life, and seems to be described in the Scripture under the strong metaphor of seeing the incorporeal God.

This is the sum of the verse which precedes my text. It is an earnest exhortation to all Christians to give attention to the prophecies of holy writ, as what will best obviate all doubts that might shake their faith, and prevent their minds from being unsettled by those difficulties which the evil heart of unbelief will ever find in the present moral constitution, according to those imperfect views of it which the light of nature by itself affords.

But to what purpose shall we give attention to prophecy, unless we may hope to understand it? And where is the Christian who is not ready to say, with the treasurer of the Ethiopian Queen, "How can I understand, except some man shall guide me?" The Ethiopian found a man appointed and impowered to guide him: but in these days, when the miraculous gifts of the Spirit are withholden, where is the man who hath the authority or the ability to be another's guide?—Truly, vain is the help of man, whose breath is in his nostrils; but, blessed be God, he hath not left us without aid. Our help is in the name of the Lord. To his exhortation to the study of the prophecy, the inspired apostle, apprized of our necessities, hath, in the first of the two verses which I have chosen for my text, annexed an infallible rule to guide plain men in the interpretation of prophecy; and in the latter verse, he expains upon what principle this rule is founded.

Observe me: I say the apostle gives you an infallible *rule*

of interpretation. I do not tell you that he refers you to any infallible interpreter; which perverse meaning, the divines of the Church of Rome, for purposes which I forbear to mention, have endeavoured to fasten upon this text. The claim of infallibility, or even of authority to prescribe magisterially to the opinions and the consciences of men, whether in an individual or in assemblies and collections of men, is never to be admitted. Admitted, said I?—it is not to be heard with patience, unless it be supported by a miracle: and this very text of Scripture is manifestly, of all others, the most adverse to the arrogant pretensions of the Roman pontiff. Had it been the intention of God, that Christians, after the death of the apostles, should take the sense of Scripture, in all obscure and doubtful passages, from the mouth of an infallible interpreter, whose decisions, in all points of doctrine, faith, and practice, should be oracular and final, this was the occasion for the apostle to have mentioned it—to have told us plainly whither we should resort for the unerring explication of those prophecies, which, it seems so well deserve to be studied and understood. And from St. Peter, in particular, of all the apostles, this information was in all reason to be expected, if, as the vain tradition goes, the oracular gift was to be lodged with his successors. This, too, was the time when the mention of the thing was most likely to occur to the apostle's thoughts; when he was about to be removed from the superintendence of the church, and was composing an epistle for the direction of the flock which he so faithfully had fed, after his departure. Yet St. Peter, at this critical season, when his mind was filled with an interested care for the welfare of the church after his decease, upon an occasion which might naturally lead him to mention all means of instruction that were likely to be provided,—in these circumstances, St. Peter gives not the most distinct intimation of a living oracle to be perpetually maintained in the succession of the Roman Bishops. On the contrary, he

overthrows their aspiring claims, by doing that which supersedes the supposed necessity of any such institution : he lays down a plain rule, which judiciously applied, may enable every private Christian to interpret the written oracles of prophecy, in all points of general importance, for himself.

The rule is contained in this maxim, which the apostle propounds as a leading principle, of which, in reading the prophecies, we never should lose sight, "That no prophecy of Scripture is of any *private interpretation*." "Knowing this first," says he, "that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any *private interpretation*." And the reason is this, —that the predictions of the prophets did not, like their own private thoughts and sentiments, originate in their own minds. The prophets, in the exercise of their office, were necessary agents, acting under the irresistible impulse of the Omniscient Spirit, who made the faculties and the organs of those holy men his own instruments for conveying to mankind some portion of the treasures of his own knowledge. Futurity seems to have been delineated in some sort of emblematical picture, presented by the Spirit of God to the prophet's mind, which, perturnaturally filled and heated with this scenery, in describing the images obtruded on the phantasy, gave pathetic utterance to wisdom not its own. "For the prophecy came not at any time by the will of man ; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

Some one, perhaps, will be apt to say, "It had been well if the apostle had delivered his rule for the explication of prophecy, as clearly as he hath expressed what he allegeth as the principle from which his rule is derived. This principle is indeed propounded with the utmost perspicuity : but how this principle leads to the maxim which is drawn from it, or what the true sense of that maxim may be, or how it may be applied as a rule of interpretation, may not appear so obvious. It may seem that the apostle hath

rather told us negatively how the prophecies *may not*, then affirmatively how they *may be* interpreted : and since, in most cases, error is infinite, and truth single, it may be presumed that innumerable modes of interpretation will mislead, while one only will carry us to the true sense of the prophecies, and surely it had been more to the purpose, to point out that single true path, than to guard us against one out of a great number of deviations. Nor, it may be said, is this erroneous path, which we are admonished to avoid, very intelligibly defined. Private interpretation, it seems, is that which is never to be applied. But what is private interpretation ? Is it the interpretation of the private Christian ? Is it forbidden that any private member of the church should endeavour to ascertain the sense of any text of prophecy for himself ?—The prohibition would imply, that there must be somewhere, either in some great office of the church, or in assemblies of her presbyters and bishops, an authority of public interpretation,—of which the contrary seems to have been proved from this very passage.”

It must be confessed, that all this obscurity and incoherence appears in the first face of the passage, as it is expressed in our English Bibles. The truth is, that the English word *private*, does but very darkly, if at all, convey to the understanding of the English reader the original word to which it is meant that it should answer. The original word denotes that peculiar appropriation of the thing with which it is joined, to something else previously mentioned, which is expressed in English by the word *own* subjoined to the pronouns of possession : *Our own* power—*his own* blood—a prophet of *their own*. In all these places, the Greek word which is rendered by the words *our own*—*his own*—*their own*, is that same word which in this text is rendered by the word *private*. The precise meaning, therefore, of the original, may be thus expressed : “Not any prophecy of Scripture is of *self-interpretation*.” This compound word

“self-interpretation,” contains the exact and full meaning of the two Greek words which our translators have rendered by “private interpretation,” and with which no two separate words can be found in our language exactly to correspond. The meaning is just the same as might be thus expressed : “Not any prophecy of Scripture is its own interpreter.” It is in this sense that the passage is rendered in the French Bible of the church of Geneva ; and, what is of much importance to observe, it is so rendered in the Latin translation called the Vulgate, which the church of Rome upholds as the unerring standard of the sacred text.

This, then, is the rule of interpretation prescribed by the apostle, in my text : and though it is propounded in a negative form, and may therefore seem only to exclude an improper method of interpretation, it contains, as I shall presently explain to you, a very clear and positive definition of the only method to be used with any certainty of success.

The maxim is to be applied, both to every single text of prophecy, and to the whole.

Of any single text of prophecy, it is true that it cannot be its own interpreter ; for this reason,—because the Scripture prophecies are not detached predictions of separate independent events, but are united in a regular and entire system, all terminating in one great object—the promulgation of the Gospel, and the complete establishment of the Messiah’s kingdom. Of this system, every particular prophecy makes a part, and bears a more immediate or a more remote relation to that which is the object of the whole. It is, therefore, very unlikely, that the true signification of any particular text of prophecy should be discovered from the bare attention to the terms of the single prediction, taken by itself, without considering it as a part of that system to which it unquestionably belongs, and without observing how it may stand connected with earlier and later

prophecies, especially with those which might more immediately precede or more immediately follow it.

Again, of the whole of the Scripture prophecies, it is true that it cannot be its own interpreter. Its meaning never can be discovered, without a general knowledge of the principal events to which it alludes ; for prophecy was not given to enable curious men to pry into futurity, but to enable the serious and considerate to discern in past events the hand of Providence.

Thus you see, the apostle, while he seems only to guard against a manner of interpretation which would perpetually mislead, in effect directs us to that which will seldom fail. Every particular prophecy is to be referred to the system, and to be understood in that sense which may most aptly connect it with the whole ; and the sense of prophecy in general is to be sought in the events which have actually taken place,—the history of mankind, especially in the article of their religious improvement, being the public infallible interpreter of the oracles of God.

I shall now proceed, in this, and some other discourses, to explain these rules somewhat more distinctly,—to illustrate the use of them by examples of their application,—and to show you how naturally they arise out of that principle which is alleged by the apostle as their foundation, and how utterly they overthrow the most formidable objection that the adversaries of our holy faith have ever been able to produce against that particular evidence of our Lord's pretensions which the completion of the Scripture prophecies affords.

In the first place, for the more distinct explication of the apostle's maxim, nothing, I conceive, is requisite, but to mark the limits within which the meaning of it is to be restrained.

And, first, the subject of the apostle's negative proposition. *prophecy*.—Under this name is not to be included

every thing that might be uttered by a prophet, even under the Divine impulse ; but the word is to be taken strictly for that which was the highest part of the prophetic office—the prediction of the events of distant ages. The prophets spake under the influence of the Spirit, upon various occasions, when they had no such predictions to deliver. They were in the Jewish church, the ordinary preachers of righteousness ; and their lessons of morality and religion, though often conveyed in the figured strains of poetry, were abundantly perspicuous. They were occasionally sent to advise public measures, in certain critical situations of the Jewish state. Sometimes they gave warning of impending judgments, or notice of approaching mercies ; and sometimes they were employed to rebuke the vices and to declare the destiny of individuals. What they had to utter upon these occasions, had sometimes, perhaps, no immediate connexion with prophecy, properly so called ; and the mind of the prophet seems to have been very differently affected with these subjects, and with the visions of futurity. The counsel he was to give, or the event he was to announce, were presented naked, without the disguise of imagery, to his thoughts, and he gave it utterance in perspicuous phrases, that carried a definite and obvious meaning. There are even predictions, and those of very remote events, and those events of the highest moment, which are not properly to be called prophecies. Such are those declarations of the future conditions of the righteous and the wicked, which make a principal branch of general revelation, and are propounded in such clear terms, that none can be at a loss to apprehend the general purport of them. These are, indeed, predictions, because the events which they declare are future ; yet they do not seem to answer to the notion of prophecy, in the general acceptation of the word. What then, you will ask me, is the distinction between these discoveries of general revelation and prophecy, properly so called ?—The distinction, I think, is this: An

explicit declaration of the final general event of things, and of whatever else may be the immediate effect of the will and power of the First Cause, or the purport of an original decree of God, is revelation. Prophecy is a disguised detail of those intermediate and subordinate events which are brought about by the regular operation of second causes, and are in part dependent upon man's free agency. Predictions of these events are prophecies, in the proper meaning of the word; and, of these prophecies alone, St. Peter's maxim, "that no prophecy is its own interpreter," is to be understood.

Again, the word "interpretation" is not to be understood without much restriction. Interpretation, in the largest sense, consists of various branches, the greatest part of which it were absurd to include in the negation of the text. Such are all grammatical interpretations of an author's language, and logical elucidations of the scope, composition, and coherence of his argument. Such interpretations may be necessary for prophecies, in common with every other kind of writings; and the general rules by which they must proceed are the same in all: but the interpretation of which the apostle speaks is that which is peculiar to prophecy; and it consists in ascertaining the events to which predictions allude, and in showing the agreement between the images of the prediction, and the particulars of the history; and this particular sort of interpretation, distinct from any other, is expressed by that word which we find in this place in the original text of the apostle. The original word hath not the extensive signification of the English word, "interpretation," but it is the specific name of that sort of exposition which renders the mystic sense of parables, dreams, and prophecies.

Having thus defined in what sense the apostle uses the word "prophecies," and what that particular sort of interpretation is, which, he says, no prophecy can furnish for

itself, his maxim is reduced to a perspicuous proposition, too evident to need farther proof or explication. Of prophecies, in the strict acceptation of the word,—that is, of disguised predictions of those events which are brought about by the intervention of second causes, and do in great part depend upon the free agency of man,—of such predictions, the apostle affirms that the my-tic interpretation—that interpretation which consists in ascertaining the events with which the predictions correspond—is never to be drawn from the prophecy itself. It is not to be struck out by any process of criticism applied to the words in which a prediction is conceived ;—it is not to be so struck out, because, without a knowledge of the event foretold, as well as a right understanding of the terms of the prediction, the agreement between them cannot be perceived. And among different events which may sometimes seem prefigured by the same prophetic images, those are always to be esteemed the true completions, which being most connected with the main object of prophecy, may most aptly connect any particular prediction with the system.

It is of importance, however, that I show you, that the apostle's maxim, in the sense in which I would teach you to understand it, arises naturally from the principle which he alleges as the foundation of it,—that the origin of prophecy, its coming from God, is a reason why it should not be capable of self-interpretation : for, if I should not be able to make out this connexion, you would do wisely to reject the whole of my interpretation ; since it is by infinite degrees more credible that error should be in my exposition, than incoherence in the apostle's discourse.

But the connexion, if I mistake not, is not difficult to be made out : for, since the prophecies, though delivered by various persons, were dictated to all, by one and the same Omniscient Spirit, the different books, and the scattered passages of prophecy, are not to be considered as the works

or the sayings of different men, treating a variety of subjects, or delivering various and contradictory opinions upon the same subject ; but as parts of an entire work of a single author—of an author, who, having a perfect comprehension of the subject which he treats, and at all times equally enjoying the perfection of his intellect, cannot but be always in harmony with himself. We find, in the writings of a man of any depth of understanding, such relation and connexion of the parts of any entire work—such order and continuity of the thoughts—such consequence and concatenation of arguments,—in a word, such unity of the whole, which, at the same time that it gives perspicuity to every part, when its relation to the whole is known, will render it difficult, and in many cases impossible, to discover the sense of any single period, taken at a venture from the first place where the book may chance to open, without any general apprehension of the subject, or of the scope of the particular argument to which the sentence may belong. How much more perfect, is it reasonable to believe, must be the harmony and concert of parts—how much closer the union of the thoughts—how much more orderly the arrangement—how much less unbroken the consequence of argument, in a work which hath for its real author that Omniscient Mind to which the universe is ever present in one unvaried undivided thought !—the universe, I say,—that is, the entire comprehension of the visible and intelligible world, with its ineffable variety of mortal and immortal natures—of substances, accidents, qualities, relations, present, past and future !—that Mind, in which all science, truth, and knowledge, is summoned and compacted in one vast idea ! How absurd were the imagination, that harmony and system, while they reign in the works of men, are not to be looked for in the instruction which this great Mind hath delivered, in separate parcels indeed, by the different instruments which it hath at different times employed ; or that any detached part of his

sacred volume may be safely expounded, without reference to the whole !—The Divine knowledge is, indeed, too excellent for man, and could not otherwise be imparted to him than in scraps and fragments : but these are then only understood, when the human mind, by just and dextrous combinations, is able to restore them, in some imperfect degree, to the shadow and the semblance at least of that simplicity and unity in which all truth originally exists in the self-furnished intellect of God.

But, farther. As there cannot but be harmony and connexion in the knowledge and the thoughts of God, so there cannot but be unity and consistency of design in all his communications with mankind. The end, indeed, of all that extraordinary intercourse which the great God who made heaven and earth hath vouchsafed to hold with the inhabitants of this lower world, is the moral improvement of the human character—the improvement of man's heart and understanding, by the establishment and propagation of the Christian religion. All instruction from heaven, of which the prophecies make a part, is direct to this end. All the promises given to the patriarchs—the whole typical service of the law—the succession of the Jewish prophets,—all these things were means employed by God to prepare the world for the revelation of his Son ; and the latter prophecies of our Lord himself, and his inspired apostles, are still means of the same kind for the farther advancement of the same great design,—to spread that divine teacher's doctrine, and to give it full effect upon the hearts of the faithful. The great object, therefore, of the whole world of prophecy, is the Messiah and his kingdom ; and it divides itself into two general branches, as it regards either the first coming of the Messiah, or the various fortunes of his doctrine and his church, until his second coming. With this object, every prophecy hath immediate or remote connexion. Not but that in many predictions, in many large portions of the prophetic word, the

Messiah and the events of his kingdom are not immediately brought in view as the principal objects ; yet in none of the Scripture prophecies are those objects set wholly out of sight, inasmuch as the secular events to which many parts of prophecy relate, will be found upon a close inspection, to be such as either in earlier times affected the fortunes of the Jewish people, or in later ages the state of Christendom, and were of considerable effect upon the propagation of the true religion, either as they promoted or as they obstructed it. Thus we have predictions of the fall of the old Assyrian empire, and the desolation of Nineveh, its capital,—of the destruction of Tyre, and the ravages of Nebuchadnezzar in the neighborhood of Palestine—of the overthrow of the Babylonian empire, by Cyrus,—of the Persian, by Alexander,—of the division of the eastern world, after the death of Alexander, among his captains,—of the long wars between the rival kingdoms of Syria and Egypt,—of the intestine quarrels and court intrigues of those two kingdoms,—of the propagation of Mohamets's imposture,—of the decline of the Roman empire,—of the rise and growth of the papal tyranny and superstition. Such events as these became the subject of prophecy, because their consequences touched the state of the true religion ; and yet they were of a kind in which, if in any, the thoughtless and inconsiderate would be apt to question the control of Providence. Read the histories of these great revolutions : you will find they were effected by what you might the least guess to be the instruments of Providence,—by the restless ambition of princes,—by the intrigues of wicked statesmen,—by the treachery of false sycophants,—by the mad passions of abandoned or of capricious women,—by the phrenzy of enthusiasts,—by the craft of hypocrites. But, although God hath indeed no *need* of the wicked man, yet his wisdom and his mercy find frequent use for him, and render even his vices subservient to the benevolent purposes of Provi-

dence. The evidence of a vigilant providence thus mercifully exerted, arises from the prediction of those events, which, while they result from the worst crimes of men, do yet in their consequences affect the state of religion and the condition of the virtuous. If such events lay out of the control of God's providence, they could not fall within the comprehension of his prescience ; but, what God hath predicted, he foreknew,—what he foreknew, he predetermined,—what God hath predetermined—whatever bad action he permits to be done, must no less certainly, though less immediately than the good actions which he approves, operate, by the direction of his universal providence, to the final benefit of the virtuous. This comfortable assurance, therefore, “that all things work together for good to them that love God,” is derived from prophecy, especially from those parts of prophecy, which predict those crimes of men by which the interests of religion are affected ; and, to afford this comfort to the godly, such crimes are made the subject of the sacred oracles.

Thus you see, that, in all prophecy, the state of religion is the object, and the interests of religion are the end. Hence it is, that as a man, whose mind is bent upon the accomplishment of some great design, will be apt, upon every occasion of discourse, to introduce allusions to that which is ever uppermost in his thoughts, and nearest to his heart ; so the Holy Spirit of God, when he moved his prophets to speak of the affairs of this low world, was perpetually suggesting allusions to the great design of Providence, the uniting of all things under Christ. And whoever would edify by the prophetic word, must keep this great object constantly in view, that he may be ready to catch at transient hints and oblique insinuations, which often occur where they might be the least expected.

Nor is an active attention to the events of the world less necessary. That prophecy should fetch its interpretation

from the events of history, is a necessary consequence of its divine original: it is a part of the contrivance, and a part without which prophecy would have been so little beneficial—rather, indeed, pernicious to mankind—that, seeing God is infinitely wise and good, this could not but be a part of his contrivance. This is very peremptorily declared in the original of my text; where the expression is not, as in the English, “no prophecy *is*,” but “no prophecy is *made* of self-interpretation.” No prophecy is to be found in Scripture, which is not purposely so framed as *not* to be of self-interpretation. ’Twas undoubtedly within the power of the Almighty, to have delivered the whole of prophecy in terms no less clear and explicit than those in which the general promises of revelation are conveyed, or particular deliverances of the Jewish people occasionally announced: but his wisdom reprobated this unreserved prediction of futurity, because it would have enlarged the foresight of man beyond the proportion of his other endowments, and beyond the degree adapted to his present condition. To avoid this mischief, and to attain the useful end of prophecy, which is to afford the highest proof of Providence, it was necessary that prophecy should be delivered in such disguise as to be dark while the event is remote, to clear up as it approaches, and to be rendered perspicuous by the accomplishment. And in this disguise prophecy hath actually been delivered, because it comes from God, who is good and wise, and dispenses all his blessings in the manner and degree in which they may be truly blessings to his creatures. Knowledge were no blessing were it not adjusted to the circumstances and proportioned to the faculties of those to whom it is imparted.

I trust that it appears to you, that the apostle’s maxim, “that no prophecy can be its own interpreter,” does necessarily follow from the matter of fact alleged as its foundation, that “all prophecy is from God.”

You will reap a rich harvest of improvement from these disquisitions, if, now that you understand the apostle's rule of interpretation, you will learn to *use* it when you read or hear the prophecies of holy writ. In my next discourses, I shall endeavour, with God's assistance, to teach you the use of it, by examples of its application.

DISCOURSE II.

2 PETER, I. 20, 21.

Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not at any time by the will of man ; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

THIS period hath already been the subject of one discourse, in which it hath been my endeavour to explain its meaning, and to show the coherence of its parts. Its meaning,—that it propounds a maxim for the interpretation of the prophecies of holy writ, which is this negative proposition, that no prophecy is its own interpreter ; and alleges the principle upon which that maxim is founded, that all prophecy came from God. The coherence of its parts,—inasmuch as the maxim, by necessary and obvious consequence, rises out of the principle alleged as the foundation of it.

I now proceed, as I proposed, to instruct you in the use of the apostle's maxim, by examples of its application. I would not fatigue your attention with unnecessary repetition ; but it is of importance that you should recollect that the apostle's negative maxim, “that no prophecy is of self-interpretation,” has been shown in effect to contain two affirmative rules of exposition,—that every single text of prophecy is to be considered as a part of an entire system, and to be interpreted in that sense which may best connect it with the whole ; and that the sense of prophecy in general is to be sought in the events which have actually taken place.

To qualify the Christian to make a judicious application of these rules, no skill is requisite in verbal criticism—no

proficiency in the subtleness of the logician's art—no acquisitions of recondite learning. That degree of understanding with which serious minds are ordinarily blessed—those general views of the schemes of Providence, and that general acquaintance with the prophetic language, which no Christian can be wanting in, who is constant, as every true Christian is, in his attendance on the public worship, and gives that serious attention which every true Christian gives to the word of God, as it is read to him in our churches, and expounded from our pulpits, these qualifications, accompanied with a certain strength of memory and quickness of recollection, which exercise and habit bring—and with a certain patience of attention in comparing parallel texts,—these qualifications will enable the pious though unlearned Christian to succeed in the application of the apostle's rules, so far at least as to derive much rational amusement—much real edification—much consolation—much confirmation of his faith—much animation of his hopes,—much joy and peace in believing, from that heedful meditation of the prophetic word, which all men would do well to remember an inspired apostle hath enjoined.

The first instance to which I shall apply the apostle's rules, is the very first prediction which occurs in the Bible—the prophetic curse upon the serpent, which we read in the third chapter of the book of Genesis. “Thou art cursed above all cattle of the field. Upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it (or rather “he”) shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.” To judge of the illustration that this prophecy may receive from the apostle's rules, it will be proper previously to settle what may be the full meaning of the words, taken by themselves. For this purpose, let us suppose that the passage were recited to some uninstructed heathen, who should be totally unacquainted with the

Bible, and with every part of its contents : suppose him quite ignorant of the story of the fall—ignorant upon what occasion the words were spoken, or by whom : suppose that he were only told, that once upon a time these words were spoken to a serpent ;—think ye he would discern in them any thing prophetic ?—He must have more than the serpent's cunning, if he did. He would tell you they contain a few obvious remarks upon the condition of the serpent kind, upon the antipathy which nature has established between men and serpents, and upon the natural advantages of man over the venomed reptile. "The serpent," says he, "is told, that, for the extent of his natural powers and enjoyments, he holds his rank with the lowest of the brute creation,—that serpents, by the make of their bodies, are necessitated to crawl upon the ground,—that, although they have a poison in their mouths, the greatest mischief they do to men is to bite them by the heels ; whereas men, by the foresight of their danger, and by their erect posture, have greatly the advantage, and knock serpents on the head wherever they chance to find them." This would be our heathen's exposition ; nor could the most subtle criticism draw any farther meaning from the terms of this denunciation.

But, now, let our heathen be made acquainted with the particulars of the story of the fall ; and let him understand that these words were addressed to the individual serpent which had tempted Eve, by the Omnipotent Creator, when he came in person to pronounce the dreadful doom upon deluded ruined man ;—our heathen will immediately perceive that this was no season for pursuing a useless speculation on the natural history of the serpent : nor was so obvious a remark upon the comparative powers of the serpent kind, and man, better fitted to the majesty of the great Being to whom it is ascribed, than to the solemnity of the occasion upon which it was introduced : and he could not but suspect that more must be meant than meets the

ear. He would observe that the words were addressed to the serpent, in the character of the seducer of our first parents,—that the denunciation made a part of a judicial procedure, in which a striking regularity appears in the distribution of the several branches of the business.—Three delinquents stand before the Maker of the world, to answer for a crime in which each had borne a part. Adam, as first in rank, is first questioned. He acknowledges his crime, but imputes the blame to Eve's persuasions. Eve is next examined. She confesses the truth of her husband's accusation, but she taxes the serpent as her seducer. The Creator proceeds to judgment. And in this part it is remarkable, that the person who had been first interrogated is the last condemned: for the first words spoken by the Judge after he has received the confession of the human pair, are those in which he accosts the serpent; then he addresses himself to Eve—to Adam last. The words addressed to Eve are the sentence of the Judge, denouncing the penalties to be sustained by her for having listened to the serpent, and made herself the instrument of the man's seduction. The words addressed to Adam are the sentence of the Judge on him, for having yielded to Eve's solicitation.—From the plain order of the business, our heathen would conclude that these words addressed to the serpent, are a sentence upon him as the first seducer. He would observe, that as, in the narrative of the temptation, contrivance, design, and speech, are ascribed to the serpent, so, in these words, he is accosted as the object of animadversion and punishment. He would say, "This was no common serpent of the field, but some intelligent and responsible agent, in the serpent form; and, in the evils decreed to the life and condition of the serpent, this individual serpent solely is concerned. The enmity which is mentioned, between the serpent and mankind, must express some farther insidious designs on the part of this deciever, with resistance on the part of man; and in the declaration, that,

while serpents should have no power but to wound the heels of men, men should bruise the heads of serpents, it is certainly intimated, by metaphors taken from the condition and powers of the natural serpent, that the calamities which the stratagems of this enemy in disguise should bring on man, would prove light, in comparison of the greater mischiefs which man shall inflict on him. It is intimated, that man's wound, although, like the serpent's bite, it might be fatal in its consequences if it were neglected, was however curable. The reptile's tooth had lodged its malignant poison in the heel. Considerable time must pass, before the blood and juices could be mortally infected ;—in the interval, remedies might be applied to prevent the threatened mischief. Again, the declaration that God himself puts this enmity between the serpent and mankind, implies, that the merciful, though offended God, will yet take an interest in the fortunes of man, and will support him in his conflict with the adversary."

You see, that, by considering this denunciation of the serpent's doom in connexion only with that particular story of which it is a part, without any knowledge of later prophecies and revelations, our heathen has been able to dive into the prophetic meaning of words, which, taken by themselves, he did not know to be at all prophetic. The particular events, indeed, which may correspond to the images of the prediction, he hath not yet been able to assign ; but of the general purport of the prophecy, he has formed a very just notion. He is, besides, aware, that mysteries are contained in it, more than he can yet unravel. He is sensible that it cannot be without some important meaning, that either the whole or some remarkable part of Adam's posterity, contrary to the general notions of mankind, and the common forms of all languages, is expressed under the image of the woman's seed rather than the man's. I must here observe, that Adam, with respect to the insight he may be supposed to have had into the sense of this curse upon the serpent, was probably

for some time much in the situation of our supposed heathen,—aware that it contained a general intimation of an intended deliverance, but much in the dark about the particular explication of it. This prophecy was, therefore, to Adam, when it was first delivered, so far intelligible as to be a ground of hope,—at the same time that the darkness of the terms in which it was conceived must have kept him anxiously attentive to every event that might seem connected with the completion of it, and to any new light that might be given him by succeeding predictions or promises. And, by the way, this points out one important secondary use of the original obscurity and gradual elucidation of prophecy, by succeeding prophecies and by events,—this method of prediction awakens the curiosity of mankind.

But let us give our heathen, whose curiosity is keen upon the subject, farther lights. Let us carry him, by proper steps, through the whole volume of the sacred oracles; and let us instruct him in that great mystery of godliness, which from the beginning of the world was hidden with God, but in these later ages hath been made manifest by the preaching of the blessed apostles and evangelists; and, when his heart is touched with a sense of the mercies conferred on him through Christ—when he has taken a view of the whole of the prophetic word, and has seen its correspondence with the history of Jesus, and the beginnings of his Gospel, let him then return to the curse upon the serpent. Will he now find in it any thing ambiguous or obscure? Will he hesitate a moment to pronounce, that the serpent who received this dreadful doom could be no other than an animated emblem of that malignant spirit, who in the latest prophecies, is called the *Old Dragon*? Or rather, will he not pronounce, that this serpent was that very spirit, in his proper person, dragged, by some unseen power, into the presence of Jehovah, to receive his doom in the same reptile form which he had assumed to wreak his spite on unsuspecting man; for which

exploit of wicked and dishonorable cunning, the opprobrious names of the Serpent and the Dragon have ever since been fixed upon him in derision and reproach? Will not our enlightened and converted heathen understand the circumstances which are mentioned of the serpent's natural condition, as intimations of something analogous in the degraded state of the rebellious angel? By the days of the serpent's life, will he not understand a certain limited period, during which, for the exercise of man's virtue, and the fuller manifestation of God's power and goodness, the infernal Dragon is to be permitted to live his life of malice, to exercise his art of delusion on the sons of men?—while, in the adjuncts of that life, the grovelling posture and the gritty meal, will he not read the condition of a vile and despicable being, to whom all indulgence but that of malice is denied—to whom little freedom of action is entrusted? Will he have a doubt that the seed of this serpent are the same that in other places are called the Devil's angels? Will he not correct his former surmises about the seed of the woman, and the wound to be inflicted by the serpent in the heel? Will he not perceive, that the seed of the woman is an image, not generally descriptive of the descendants of Adam, but characteristic of an individual—emphatically expressive of that person, who, by the miraculous manner of his conception, was peculiarly and properly the son of Eve,—that the wound to be suffered by this person in the heel, denotes the sufferings with which the Devil and his emissaries were permitted to exercise the Captain of our Salvation? And will he not discern, in the accomplishment of man's redemption, and the successful propagation of the Gospel, the mortal blow inflicted on the serpent's head?—when the ignorance which he had spread over the world was dispelled by the light of revelation,—when his secret influence on the hearts of men, to inflame their passions, to debauch their imaginations and mislead their thoughts, was counteracted by the graces of God's Holy Spi-

rit, aiding the external administration of the word,—when, with much of its invisible power, his kingdom lost the whole of its external pomp and splendor. Silence being imposed on his oracles, and spells and enchantments being divested of their power, the idolatrous worship which by those engines of deceit he had universally established, and for ages supported, notwithstanding the antiquity of its institutions, and the bewitching gaiety and magnificence of its festivals, fell into neglect. Its cruel and lascivious rites, so long holden in superstitious veneration, on a sudden became the object of a just and general abhorrence; and the unfrequented temples, stripped, no doubt, of their rich ornaments and costly offerings, sunk in ruins. These were the early effects of the promulgation of the Gospel,—effects of the power of Christ exalted to his throne, openly spoiling principalities and powers, and trampling the Dragon under foot. When these effects of Christianity began to be perceived, which was very soon after our Lord's ascension,—when magicians openly forswore their ruined art, and burned their useless books,—when the fiend of divination, confessing the power by which he was subdued, ceased to actuate his rescued prophetic,—when the worshippers of the Ephesian Diana avowed their apprehensions for the tottering reputation of their goddess,—then it was that the seed of the woman was seen to strike and bruise the serpent's head.

Thus you see, that as the general purport of this prophecy was readily opened by an attention to the circumstances of the memorable transaction which gave occasion to it, so a comparison of it with later prophecies, and with events, (which, to whatever cause they may be referred, have confessedly and notoriously taken place,) naturally leads to a particular and circumstantial explication.

It is remarkable that this, which is of all the most ancient prophecy of the general redemption, is perhaps, of any single prediction that can be produced, upon many accounts,

the most satisfactory and convincing. For, in the first place, although it be conveyed in the most highly figured language, the general meaning of it, though less obvious, is no less single and precise than the most plain and simple expressions might have made it. It was uttered by the voice of God himself; therefore two different and unequal intellects were not, as in every instance of prophecy uttered by a man, concerned in the delivery of it. The occasion upon which it was delivered was of such importance as necessarily to exclude all other business: its general meaning, therefore, must be connected, which is not the case of every prophecy, with the occasion upon which it was spoken; and with that occasion one meaning only can possibly connect it. The serpent accosted, could be no other serpent than Eve's seducer,—the curse, no other curse than such as might be adapted to that deceiver's nature,—the enmity, no other enmity but what might be exercised between beings of such natures as man and his seducer,—and the bruises in the heel and in the head, no other mischiefs to either party than that enmity might produce. So that the general meaning to which the occasion points, is no less certain than if our enemy had been accosted in some such plain terms as these: "Satan! thou art accursed beyond all the spirits of thy impious confederacy. Short date is granted to the farther workings of thy malice; and all the while thou shalt heavily drag the burden of an unblessed existence,—fettered in thy energies, cramped in thy enjoyments; and thy malevolent attempts on man, though for a time they may affect, and perchance, through his own folly endanger his condition, shall terminate in the total extinction of thine own power, and in the aggravation of thy misery and abasement; and, to gall thee more, he who shall undo thy deeds, restore the ruined world, and be thy conqueror and avenger, shall be a son, though in no natural way, of this deluded woman."

Again, no less certain than the general meaning derived

from the occasion of this prophecy, is the particular exposition of it by the analogy of prophecy, and by the event. The images of this prediction, however dark they might be when it was first delivered, carry, we find, in the prophetic language, a fixed unvaried meaning. The image of the serpent answers to no being in universal nature but the Devil. Prophecy knows no seed of the woman—it ascribes the miraculous conception to which this time alludes to none but the Emanuel ; nor shall we find, in the whole progeny of Eve, a person to whom the character may belong, but the child in the manger at Bethlehem, the holy fruit of Mary's unpolluted womb.

Lastly, the event which answers to the image in the conclusion of this prophecy, the bruise upon the serpent's head, is in its nature single ; for the universal extirpation of idolatry, and the general establishment of the pure worship of the true God, is a thing which must be done once for all, and being done, can never be repeated. A prophecy thus definite in its general purport, conveyed in images of a fixed and constant meaning, and corresponding to an event in its nature single—a sudden and universal revolution of the religious opinions and practices of all the civilized nations of the known world,—such a prophecy, so accomplished, must be allowed to be a proof that the whole work and counsel was of God, if in any case it be allowed that the nature of the cause may be known by the effect.

I mean hereafter to apply the apostle's rules to instances of prophecy of another kind, in which we find neither the same settled signification in the imagery, nor the same singularity of completion.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.



Miscellaneous Articles.

Rose, on the State of Religion in the Protestant Church in Germany.

OUR readers will probably recollect that this work of Mr. Rose, was reprinted some time since in the Repertory, as presenting an instructive view of the state of things in the German Protestant Churches. That any individual residing but a short time in such a country as Germany, should fail to obtain that comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the rise, progress, and diversified form and character of the theological revolution which has there occurred, cannot be a matter of surprise. Nor it is at all to be wondered at, that the book in question, when once translated into German, should call forth very severe animadversions. On the part of the Rationalists, these have been indiscriminate and unjust. Bretschneider, in his *Apologie der neuern Theologie des evangel. Deutschlands*, endeavours to invalidate the testimony of Mr. Rose, by proving—1, his partiality,—2, his deficiency in judgment, and information,—3, that, if not from design, at least from weakness he has misrepresented facts,—and 4, that his statements are not all the result of his own observation, but derived from unnamed persons. In carrying out his proof of these points, he betrays far more bitterness, self-satisfaction, and quite as much of partiality as the author whom he is refuting. The work of Mr. Rose, however has not proved satisfactory to some of his own countrymen, and Mr. Pusey of Oxford, has recently published a volume with the design of giving a more full and fair representation of the causes, nature and results, of the remarkable

changes in theological opinion of which Germany has been the theatre. The plan and details of this "production" of Mr. Pusey, are so coincident with those of the "History of Theology during the eighteenth century, by Dr. Tholuck," published in the two preceding numbers of the Repertory, that he who has read the one, has all the information contained in the other. There is, however, a letter prefixed to Mr. Pusey's work, addressed to himself, by Professor Sack of Bonn, which as exhibiting the light in which Mr. Rose's work is viewed, by the moderate orthodox theologians of Germany, we think it worth while to reprint. The letter is given in English, whether originally thus written, or translated by Mr. Pusey, is not stated.

Letter from Professor Sack, to E. B. Pusey, A. M.

You express a wish, my dear Friend, for my opinion upon Mr. Rose's book "on the state of Religion in Protestant Germany;" and, even at the risk of your occasionally meeting with views and opinions contrary to those to which you are attached, I will give it you; being fully convinced that we are agreed on the main points, and that you are yourself sufficiently acquainted with Germany to enter into the circumstances, which either remove or mitigate the charges of Mr. R. You will allow me in the outset to own to you that a renewed perusal of the work of your countryman excited in me on two accounts a feeling of pain; on the one hand, that so much evil could be said of the Theological Authors of my country, which it is impossible to clear away; on the other, that this was done in a form and manner which could not but produce a confused view and false picture of the state of Germany. Gladly, however, I allow, that a very different mode of judging of German Theology would have

given me infinitely deeper pain. I mean such an agreement with the prevailing views of the Rationalist School as would have presented them to the indifferent party in England under the dazzling colors of theological liberality. This would have seemed to me a yet more unnatural violation of the relation in which the English Church (taking the word in its widest sense) is called upon to stand to the German; and since Mr. R. has missed the real course of the development of the opinions of theological Germany, the harsh and oft perplexing manner in which he has delivered his statement may still indirectly be productive of much good, although indeed in order to its attainment, much accurate investigation and renewed examination on both sides will be unquestionably indispensable. You will have already perceived, (and indeed you were before aware) that I am not one of those Germans who have received this English work with a mere tissue of revilings, with renewed expressions of self-approbation, altogether mistaking the, (as I do not doubt) excellent and Christian disposition of its author. Very different are the thoughts to which it has given rise in myself; the most essential of these I will endeavour briefly to lay before you.

First, then, I would remark the erroneousness and injustice of the imputation, that the Protestant Churches of Germany, founded as they were on the authority of Holy Scripture, at the same time permitted any one of their ministers and teachers to vary from it even in their public instruction as far and as often as they pleased.* At no place and at no time was such the case. The Protestant Churches of Germany have founded their public teaching and observances on confessions of faith, which their abandonment of unchristian errors compelled them to frame; and in these scriptural "confessions" themselves were marked

* P. 10.

out the limits, beyond which the liberty of their ministers was not to be extended.

It was unavoidable and it was right, that the period, in which an undue value was attached to the letter of these confessions, should be followed by another, in which a distinction should be made between that which constitutes their essential import (to meet each error by the positive statement of the opposed truth,) and that which in the form of expression originated solely in the then state of doctrinal science; nor did this in any way destroy the right and duty to bind down the public teacher to the matter of the confession; nor did the conduct of individuals, who, in literary controversy, when this difference had been perceived, spoke slightly of the value of the confessions generally, by any means imply any renunciation of them on the part of the Church. This, I repeat, never happened; and if ecclesiastical authorities, in times of an innovating boldness of teaching, did allow the reins to pass too much from their hands, and occasionally permitted the liberty conceded to their teachers to be unworthily abused, still this was only a transient although great error of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But the Church never abandoned aught of its rights, nor does their conduct establish any absurdity in the fundamental principles of the Protestant Churches. Would it be a fair and just inference, if from the cases in the English Episcopal Church in which unprincipled Clergy were for years continued in their functions to the spiritual detriment of their Cure, one were to attribute to the Church the disgraceful inconsistency, that while she appointed the Clergy for the edification of their charge, she at the same time permitted them to give offence by their unchristian life? If Mr. R. will not allow this, but ascribes it to the deficiencies of individual spiritual authorities, how can he charge the Protestant Churches in Germany with inconsistency?

Closely connected with this confusion of the errors in

the Functionaries with the principles of the Church, is the too great value which Mr. R. attaches to the preventive means for those evils which he observed in Germany. The English Episcopal Church may glory and rejoice in the character of her XXXIX Articles, she may from her point of view, give them the preference over those longer formulæ, which had their origin in historical struggles and in the living Christian faith of their composers, (though I must repeat, that it is not in the nature of these confessions that the source of the weakness of the authorities is to be sought;) she may think it right to bind her ministers by subscription to these Articles; nothing of all this do we wish to depreciate; still one cannot grant to its advocates that the disorders observed in Germany evinced the necessity of laying "some check and restraint upon the human mind," nor that the binding force, the necessity of the subscription, the setting the letter of the symbol on the same level with its scriptural contents, can be regarded as the *source of the spiritual blessing* which the Church enjoys. The former would too much resemble the control which the Romish Church exerts over her members; the latter appears to involve too strange a confusion of the prevention of an evil with the existence of a good.

The necessity of deterring the ministers of a Church from the arbitrary aberrations of heresy, by binding them to human Articles, and of thereby assuming the right to remove them when convicted of erroneous doctrines, may often, perhaps always, exist; yet where it does exist, it presupposes an inclination to these heretical aberrations, and that in a degree proportionate to the apparent urgency of this necessity.

Such an inclination, however, in a considerable part of the Clergy, is no healthy condition, nor one productive of blessing. Its suppression is but the prevention of a yet greater evil than actually exists within the system. The blessing, however, the blessing of doctrines delivered by

enlightened and believing men, must be derived elsewhere ; from the spirit, namely, of grace and of prayer, which human forms can never give, but which they may by an unreasonable strictness hinder, though they cannot quench. When a Church then so far confides that this spirit of grace and of truth, which is the spirit of Christ, will illumine her teachers, if duly prepared and called, as to trust that such unscriptural heretical aberrations, by which the basis of Christianity is shaken, should be but of rare occurrence ; she may, indeed, go too far in this originally noble confidence, and may find herself compelled by experience to return more decisively to the preventive means and rules comprised in the documents upon which she was founded : in no event, however, will she be tempted to look for blessing and prosperity, from the establishment of the most definite verbal forms, from the erection of symbols independent of immediate controversy, and from a mode of restraint which places the human form of the doctrine on an equality with the word of Scripture. Had she such expectations, it were evident that she trusted more in the human formulæ than in the Spirit of Christ. While she trusts in this, she will indeed not neglect those means of protection ; still she will make it her first aim to impart to her young Clergy, by a genuine theological preparation, that spirit which preaches the same Gospel under forms, varying indeed, yet all within the limits of the word of Scripture, and which produces adherence to, and justification of, the doctrine not after the letter but after the spirit of the symbol : for ill were the state of any ecclesiastical authorities who should be unable to discern and to exhibit this spirit ; and lamentable the condition of any Church, which, besides the legal fences against error, did not believe in a source from which the truth issues in such a living stream, that error itself must progressively diminish. the administration of the law become continually more enlightened, the means of repression less and less necessary.

Such belief, however, and such endeavours form the principles upon which the Evangelical Churches of Germany acted. If they stumbled occasionally in this noble course is that a sign they can never reach the object they proposed? and if their principles are grounded on faith in the Spirit of Christ, should they abandon them in the midst of their career, and recur to those which centre on a reliance upon the letter of the human form, and upon the restraining force of the law?

But this leads further to those other charges of Mr. R.'s work, which indeed constitute by far the most important portion of its contents, the condemnatory representation of the direction which theology took for so long a period, and in part still takes, in so great a portion of the German authors: and here it is my duty both candidly to avow the pain which I also feel at such numerous aberrations from the purity of Christian truth; and yet distinctly to indicate that this evil, when contemplated in the due connexion with the free developement of theological science, (and how can science exist without freedom) appears partly to have taken place beyond the limits of the Church, partly to have been a necessary point of transition to a purer theology, partly to have been less widely extended than the author represents.

It is not necessary for us, my dear friend, to settle as a preliminary, whether those rationalist tendencies, through which the external and internal facts of Christianity are to be transmuted and solved into speculation and reflection, are disastrous and pernicious in any literature, and in any times.

Christianity is a divine fact, whose divine character, externally manifested, is inseparably united with an internal transformation of mind, which remains eternally distinct from any thing which man by his own device can produce: and yet will the rationalism of all times and all descriptions remove the distinction; this is its error, this its *πρωτον* *λεϊδον*, and herein is it at all times equally destructive.

whether it employ itself in the sublimest speculations on the ideas contained in the facts of Christianity, or whether on the shallowest department of the common-place, empiric, factitious view of history it strain to evaporate the miracles of the sacred relation.

Yet must we confess that this rationalism appears from time to time in every people and every literature. England has felt its full presumption and full perniciousness, in its deism. In France it united itself, though not at all times entirely, with materialism: and in Germany, it appeared in the form of a baseless innovating interpretation of Scripture, a shallow, would-be enlightening philosophy of religion.

If then the author rightly says, that the distinctive and specially revolting characteristic of the German rationalism consists in its having made its appearance within the Church, and in the guise of Theology; this indeed cannot be denied, yet it is not true to the extent to which the author represents it. Many of those writers whom he quotes for their unscriptural positions and opinions, as Reimarus, Becker, Buchholz, &c., were never in any ecclesiastical or theological office; they wrote as men pursuing in entire independence their philosophical systems; and if the influence of some of them widely extended itself even among the theologians, yet are not their opinions upon that account to be charged upon theology and the Church. Or can this be done with greater fairness, than if the deistical principles of a Hume and a Gibbon, nay, of a Toland and Tindal, were to be imputed to the English theology? We may further take into consideration, that many of those scientific men who went furthest in a superficial and forced interpretation of the sacred documents, belonged to the philosophical faculties in our universities: in these it has ever been a principle to allow science to speak out entirely unrestrained, even in opposition to the doctrine of the Church, in the

confidence that the theological faculty, through greater depth, or the greater correctness of its point of view, would be able to supply a counterpoise : if we take this also into the account, no small portion of the blame is already removed from the theologians and the Church of Germany : the evil itself remains, but it appears more as connected with the philosophical and literary spirit of the time, than as a charge against the theology, which however it may have come in contact with, and been affected by, the philosophical endeavours of the age, has yet its own independent history ; nor are the several portions of this so indistinct and confused as would appear from the notes of Mr. Rose.

And this constitutes the second point which I would notice, namely, that not only in Mr. Rose's citations, but in the sketch given in the discourses themselves, the distinction of the different times and periods has been to so great a degree neglected : an omission, which has entirely obscured the several points of transition by which theology progressively advanced towards a purer and sounder state. How can your countrymen form a correct image of our literature, when Lessing and Schelling, Steinbart and Bretschneider, Töllner and Schleiermacher, Bahrdt and Wegscheider, Herder, and the anonymous author of the *Vindiciæ sacræ N. T. scripturæ*, are mentioned together, without any other distinction than the often incorrect dates ? Most of these authors who are thus named together, were separated by 30 or 40 years from each other ; they may to the letter say the same thing, and yet the meaning in which they say it, and the influence which it has upon the times, are by no means the same, the earlier have, perhaps, suggested as an experiment what has long since been discarded ; or they have started that as philosophers, which only the more superficial writers have attempted to convert into theology : several of them moreover had grown up in close connexion with a period in which it was a duty to contend

against a false orthodoxy which clung to the letter alone: while many of the weaker moderns have proceeded to develop their opinions into positions, against which those nobler strugglers for truth would themselves with great earnestness have contended. The neglect of these historical relations, however, (which is not made good by the description of Semler) casts a false light upon the whole view. Had our author possessed a vivid conception of the spirit of German theology, which towards the middle of the preceding century was more rigidly attached, than was ever the case in England, to a false system of doctrine, combined with a confined idea of inspiration, and a stiff intolerant method of demonstration, which impeded the healthy process of a scriptural and deeper theology; had he moreover by the study of the noblest authors of our nation in that earlier period, whether in philosophy, or in practical or elegant literature, learnt the inward desire after a noble genuine freedom of mind, for which at that time Protestant and Romanist longed, he would deem the rise of a new and partly daring direction of theology, not only a natural but an interesting phenomenon; he would have acknowledged, that in part, the legitimate requisitions of science in philology and history, led to the adoption of that new course; that many also of those so-called innovators, were well conscious that they possessed a Christian and good scriptural foundation and object, but that almost all were so deficient in firm scientific principles in the execution of these views, that too much freedom and too open a course was given to the bad, the capricious, and the irreligious, to violate the sanctuaries of the Bible, by a semi-philosophical babbling and a lawless criticism.

If then, this point of view be adhered to, that all German innovations in theology discharged themselves principally in two main channels; the one in which scientific clearness and freedom were the object of honest exertion. the other in

which an inward indisposition towards the peculiar character of the Christian Religion, moulded the yet uncompleted results of historical investigation with a shallow philosophy into an unconnected revolting commixture of naturalism and popular philosophy, all the phenomena in the history of theology will be sufficiently explained. That better race of authors, for the most part too little acquainted with the principles of the science of scriptural interpretation, and the defence of religion, committed indeed many an error, but with a chastened judgment they again struck back into the right path. It was natural that they should occasionally fail at first sight to recognise the shallowness and pervertedness of inquiries of the second sort; and that to a certain degree participating in the fascination with which the spirit of that time had invested every species of tolerance, they should expose themselves to the injustice, by which their purer endeavours were subsequently confounded with those of the deistic naturalist;—an injustice frequently practised in these times in a crying manner, not by Romanists only, but by Protestants of too exclusive a system of theology. And now that this better sort of temperate religiously disposed, and scientific inquirers have gained a better basis, rule, and method, partly through their own more enlarged acquaintance with the province of their science (to which belongs also the acknowledgment of its limits;) partly through the exertions of decided apologists and apologetic doctrinal writers; partly, and not least, through the endeavours of a deeper philosophy; and lastly, in part through the religious stimulus caused by momentous political events; now also that studies in ecclesiastical history, alike deep in their character and pure in their point of view, have quickened the sight for discerning the essence of Christianity; our German theology is attaining a pure and scientific character, which it could not have

acquired, so unfettered and in such full consciousness, without first discharging itself of those baser elements.

Much is yet left to be done, much to clear away ; but the more that genuine apologetic and hermeneutic principles, derived from the nature of belief and of thought, possess themselves of the mind, the more will those falsifying theories of accommodation, those wretched explanations of miracles, those presumptuous critical hypotheses, give place to a perspicuous view of the essence of Divine Revelation, to a living understanding of the prophetic and apostolic writings, and consequently to a purer exposition of the main doctrines of Christianity. You must not allow this hope to be obscured by what you may have seen of the struggles of supernaturalism, and rationalism, or perhaps may read most obnoxiously exhibited in several of our periodical works. Within the province of proper theology this contest is not so important as it often appears, and the more it develops itself the less lasting can it be ; inasmuch as an independent rationalism is irreconcilable with the very idea of Christian theology, and a bare supernaturalism, which goes no further than what its name expresses, does not contain the slightest portion of the substance and doctrines of Christianity. If then it is true, that through a genuine study of scriptural interpretation and of history, a better theology has begun to find place among us, the distracting influence which this conflict exerts, must of necessity here also be gradually diminished : on the other hand it will probably continue, possibly yet more develop itself, in the more direct province of religion, in philosophy and in politics, where amid many a struggle, and many an alternation, it may systematise itself in the contrast of a religious and of an atheistic, or of a sincere and of an hypocritical character of thought, and then again from the various points of mutual contact unavoidably re-act upon theology. This danger is, however,

no other than that to which the English Episcopal, nay even the Romanist, and indeed every part of the Christian Church, is exposed ; and this disease, thus universal to mankind, may indeed delay, but cannot preclude, the restoration of German theology, derived from the genuine sources of philological and historical investigation combined with that experience in faith, which brings the mind and heart in vivid contact with them.

If, however, Mr. Rose has failed to perceive the necessary course of developement of German theology, so neither has he become sufficiently acquainted with, nor duly appreciated, the counter workings, by which the further progress of the evil was even in the worst and most perplexed times opposed and checked. He names indeed Storr as an opponent of the rationalist school, yet so that no one could thence perceive that this theologian was only the representative of a party at all times considerable and important. He names the philosophy of Schelling, yet almost as if all the impulses in Religion and in the Church, which, for almost twenty years, have been tending to improvement and increased unity, were derived from the suspicious source of mystical philosophemata. Neither was the case. Storr was but the disciple of the whole school of Württemberg and Tübingen, of which he was subsequently the head ; a school which, without being exempt from the errors of the time, has now for between thirty and forty years united in its writings the most conscientious earnestness with the deepest investigation. Here should have been mentioned together with Storr the names and the works of the two Flatts, of Süsskind, Bengel, Steudel, &c. To the same effect notice should also have been taken of Reinhard, who, chiefly by the pure means of works alike classical and theological, promoted an improved spirit in Saxony ; of Knapp, who, but lately deceased, blended the purest orthodoxy with classical attainments, which might satisfy even English scholars, and

with a depth of scriptural interpretation, which was the object of respect in every school ; of Hess, the venerable investigator and relator of biblical history ; of the works of Planck on Theological Encyclopædia, and in defence of Christianity ; of Kleuker in Kiel, Schott in Jena, Schwarz in Heidelberg, and of the direction (in part one of scientific depth) decisively opposed to the common rationalism, which the theological faculty of Berlin has by its historical and philosophical investigations, for more than fifteen years imparted to theological study. All this must be viewed in connexion with the great number of well-disposed and Christian practical Clergy in evangelical Germany, and with the almost universal removal of the lower classes from unchristian books upon religion. It should have been acknowledged, that in certain parts of Germany and Switzerland, Christian societies existed for the purpose of mutually imparting biblical and Christian knowledge, and for the circulation of the Scriptures, even previous to the (it must be confessed, somewhat too vehement) impulse given by the British Bible Society. It should have been noticed, how the community of the Moravian brethren exerted, upon the whole, a very deep and gentle influence (even though not altogether exempt from error) upon the very highest as well as upon the lowest classes, in producing the reception of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, especially of the Atonement. It should have been remarked, that the entirely voluntary associations in Bible and Missionary Societies could not have been so universal and so great, as is upon the whole the case, without a considerable foundation of Christian disposition ; this and so much more therewith connected, must be more accurately known, investigated deeper, and exhibited in more connexion, before the theology and Church of Protestant Germany can be displayed in their real form ; and they would then certainly not appear so revolting and so offending as they are represented in Mr. R.'s work.

Should these remarks have now made it clear that the foundations upon which the theology of Protestant Germany may be raised to a high degree of pure Christian and scientific elevation, are through the blessing of God, already laid on the deep basis of her improved principles, neither can one share the great expectations which the author entertains from the introduction among ourselves of fixed liturgies, and an ecclesiastical constitution resembling that of the Episcopal Church. Be it here undecided how far the one or the other could in themselves contribute to a better state of things ; thus much at least is certain, that in a church accustomed, in the noblest sense of the word, to so much freedom as that of Evangelical Germany, and which, without any external interference, is at this moment conscious of a voluntary return to the fundamental evangelical principles, (a return in which all its earlier spiritual and scientific advances are comprised and guaranteed,) political restraint can be neither necessary nor beneficial. Those, however, who conceive that they can observe in the theology and Church of Evangelical Germany an internal formative principle tending to realize a high Christian purity, while they do not ascribe the same value as the author to the measure which he proposes, will attach themselves so much the more firmly to one, which they regard as proceeding from the same principle, and of which the author speaks with an almost inconceivable suspicion. You will perceive, that I speak of the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Germany ; and I must confess to you, that it is the judgment passed upon this, which appears to me to fix the stamp of misconception upon every thing else which is unclear in the work. Had the author but recalled to mind, that in the period of the greatest indifference to religion and church, the division of these two parties continued unregarded and unmitigated ; that the endeavour to remove it coincided with

the renewal of a warm interest in divine worship and in the Church, had he allowed himself to be informed, that it originated with men very far removed from indifferentism, and promoted by that very evangelically-disposed king of Prussia, from whom he himself anticipates so much, he could scarcely have ascribed the union to motives so bad. But had he (which he at all events both could and ought) informed himself, that the one difference in doctrine between the two Churches is of such a nature, that the distinction can scarcely be retained in the symbolical books of the Church even by a straw-splitting nicety, (this is the case with regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in the two Churches) while the other, that regarding election, never existed in Germany, (in that the strict Calvinistic doctrine is not at all expressed in the symbol of the German reformed Church, the Heidelberg Catechism) and that Brandenburg expressly refused to acknowledge the definitions of the synod of Dort respecting it; had he weighed this he would have spared himself this hostility against a work, in its nature originating in Christian brotherly love, and which has already produced in many countries, especially in Prussia and Baden, the cheering fruits of reanimated interest in the Church.

Yet enough; for you my worthy friend, I have made myself sufficiently intelligible, and should I through your means, perhaps contribute to prepare a portion of your countrymen for a correcter view of the character of Protestant Germany, I should deem myself happy in thereby repaying a small portion of the debt, which the privilege of surveying the character of your English Church, in its important and pure (though as yet unreconciled) contrasts has laid upon me. And if I might express a wish, which forces itself upon me at the close of this long letter, it is, that more of your young theologians would visit our Protestant Universities, become acquainted with our theologians. and hear our

preachers, only not making a transient and hasty stay, nor living principally amid books, but acquainting themselves with the people and the Church, and the literature in their real character, and ready for mutual confidential interchange of their different talents.

With real regard and esteem,

Your's most sincerely,

CHARLES HENRY SACK,

*Professor of Theology, and Minister of the
Evangelical Church of Bonn.*

Bonn,

July 27, 1827.

Important admission of the Rationalists, as to the doctrines of the Bible.

THE assertion is very often made, by the opposers of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, that those opinions usually denominated orthodox, are not really taught in the word of God, but that the S. S. properly interpreted, teach little more than the simple doctrines of Natural Religion. In self-defence they are obliged to assume this ground as long as they profess to believe in the divine authority of the word of God ; but when they have advanced so far as to regard the Bible, as a mere human production, they are at liberty to admit that they contain doctrines, which they cannot, and do not believe. The consequence is, that it is no unusual thing to hear Rationalists of this class, candidly admitting that the S. S. do teach the orthodox faith, although they reject all its leading principles. The Evangelical Church Magazine of Berlin, for June, contains a striking instance of this kind.

A Reviewer in the Journal for Theological Literature, (for 1802, p. 594,) published by the late Professor Gabler,

one of the most distinguished leaders of the Rationalists—in noticing the conversion of a celebrated Theologian from neology to orthodoxy, makes the following remarks. “This, doubtless appears very strange ; but it may be easily accounted for, from the explanation given by the author himself, and may have been the case with many thinking Theologians before him. Notwithstanding all his heterodoxy, he retained his faith in an *immediate divine revelation* through Jesus Christ and in miracles ; professing, however, only to believe in biblical theology and the historical sense of the New Testament. And it was very natural, as he was *no friend of forced Interpretations of the Scriptures*, that he should gradually return to complete although somewhat moderated orthodoxy.” To this, Professor Gabler (himself a Rationalist) adds—“In our opinion this is a necessary consequence—for whoever proceeds from the principle of an immediate divine revelation through Christ, and is still decidedly heterodox, must either do the utmost violence to the clearest expressions of the New Testament, or be exceedingly inconsequent in all his reasoning, for an impartial view of Biblical Theology—as a history of the doctrines of the New Testament, must in its nature be pretty much orthodox. It is only when belief in an immediate revelation and miracles is weakened by Philosophy and History, and gives way, to at most a belief in a *mediate* revelation, that biblical orthodoxy can assume the form of rational heterodoxy. Here we may easily see, in what sense the orthodox may be right, when they accuse the heterodox of inconsistency.” With this candid avowal, says the editor of the *Evang. Kirchen Zeitung*, is every thing admitted, that we can desire from our opponents ;—and we have good reason to hope that this admission will constantly become more general. For the school, which by forced interpretations endeavoured to introduce rationalistical principles into the New Testament, and of which *Paulus* may

be considered the head, is constantly losing ground. (Paulus' Life of Christ, has been certainly published ten years too late, and needed not the protection of a 12 years privilege against a reprint.) On the other hand, the philological School, which is not governed by interest for any theological system, but seeks with as much impartiality for the sense of the New Testament, as can be exercised without the aid of the Spirit of God, and then rejects whatever they consider as inconsistent with reason is gaining followers among the *learned* theologians every day. Faith is not every man's gift; but thankful acknowledgments are due to those who are laboring to remove the difficulties to its attainment, and who place opposite opinions in their true light. Every body then knows upon what ground he stands, and no one can excuse himself with the plea of ignorance.

Knapp.

THERE are few of the recent Theologians of Germany, more generally known in this country, or more worthy of esteem than the late Professor Knapp of Halle. The following very brief notice of his life derived principally from Bengel's Archiv für die Theologie may be acceptable to some of our readers.—He was born in the village of Glaucha, near Halle, in 1753. His Father was Professor of theology in the university of Halle, where his son was educated in the Royal Pædagogium and in the school attached to the orphan-house. He followed the usual course of academical study, first at the university of Halle, and subsequently for a short period at Göttingen. He received the degree of Master of Philosophy, 1775, and commenced the duties of a teacher in Halle, in the department of classical literature, and in the course of the same year in the Exegesis of the Old and New Testament. In 1777, he was appointed extraordinary Professor of theo-

logy, and in 1782 raised to the rank of ordinary Professor in the same department. He read a two years course of exegetical lectures, embracing all the books of the New Testament, another on theology, and a third on ecclesiastical history. On the death of Frelinghausen he was appointed con-director of the orphan-house in Halle with Dr. Schulze, and subsequently director with the late Chancellor Niemeyer. In 1816 he was made a member of the Royal consistorium for the province of Saxony, in 1817 he received the order of the Red Eagle, 3d class, and on the occasion of his Jubilee, in 1825, that of the second class, with the Oak leaf. As director of the extensive establishment connected with the orphan-house he had particular charge, of the orphan department, the latin school, the Bible institution and its missionary concerns. In regard to the last, his services were peculiarly important. From 1799 to 1825, he superintended the publication of the modern history of the evangelical institutions for the conversion of the heathen in the East Indies. His feelings not permitting him to admit of a public celebration of the 50th anniversary of his course as academical teacher, his numerous friends, the theological faculty, and the public authorities, took occasion to testify in the most unequivocal terms their high respect for his character and services. Among the works dedicated to him on this event, was one by the Chancellor Niemeyer. "*A defence of the method of Instruction in Theology, pursued in the German Universities, against severe complaints and plausible objections.*"

Knapp was one of those few Professors, who, during the long reign of Infidelity in Germany, retained their faith in the doctrines of the Gospel. He pursued a noiseless course, never engaging in controversy which was peculiarly unpleasant to his mild and timid character. He carried his reserve so far, that he seldom or never spoke on the subject of religious doctrines or experience even in his own family. He

would often, however, retire from the bustle and business of an university town, to the village of Gnadau, a Moravian settlement, about 40 miles from Halle, to spend several days in pious seclusion among this faithful and devoted class of Christians. In his official instructions, however, he uniformly taught and defended the truth, and as his lectures were always numerous attended, his influence in this way was not only salutary, but important. His writings are not numerous, but they are distinguished for their learning, maturity of judgment, correctness of opinion, and elegance of manner. His *Scripta varii argumenti*, which are extensively circulated in this country, is one of his most important works. His son-in-law, Professor Thilo of Halle, has published since his death, his "Lectures on Doctrinal Theology." This work, from the fact that it is free from the philosophical character, which all recently published systems of this kind have assumed in Germany, has been rather coolly received even by the orthodox, but it is a work replete with valuable matter, particularly of an exegetical character, and is better suited to the state of things out of Germany, than almost any other work of this nature, which the prolific press of that country, has lately given birth to. It is also in contemplation to collect and publish the various articles of a biographical and theological character, which he furnished at different periods to various Periodical Journals.

It is certainly adapted to inspire a very sincere respect for this excellent man, to recall the trying circumstances under which he passed the greater part of his theological life, and the uniformity with which he adhered to the great doctrines of the Bible. He commenced his career, just as the great change in theology throughout Germany began to manifest itself, which carried forward in its course from one stage of defection to another, almost the entire body of theologians throughout the land. To remain firm in adherence to a system rejected and despised—by the learning and rank and whole spirit of the age; to stand almost alone, in his fide-

lity to the doctrines of the Gospel is proof enough that he was sustained by what alone could sustain him, a deep conviction of the truth of these doctrines founded on an experience of their power. It is true that in the early part of his course he was, in some measure, carried away by the example and influence of such teachers as Semler and Michaelis, but this was only for a short period, and to an inconsiderable extent. This is obvious from the fact, that his lectures on theology were written, or at least commenced as early as 1785, and that they were then in all essential particulars such as they were left at the death of their author. Dr. Scheibel says, that it was in the year 1794, that he experienced a decided change in his religious feelings, but his son-in-law, Professor Thilo maintains, that this was not the case, that his intimate connexion with the Moravians, his interest in their missionary concerns and other indications of inward piety are of an earlier date, and that he was in every period of his course a believing and biblical theologian. Such a man, Professor Thilo further remarks, was not likely to be carried away, by the arbitrary method of explaining the Sacred Scriptures which prevailed at that period, nor to subject theology to the constantly changing systems of philosophy. The lengths to which he saw, the rash innovators and improvers in theology, were disposed to go, and the evils which resulted from their reckless spirit tended only to confirm him the more, in his steadfast adherence to the word of God. Such a man is worthy of all honor, faithful amidst general defection, he has the merit of having sustained the severest trial to which a man can well be exposed.

Correspondence from Bavaria.

In this land the most pleasing prospects present themselves, in relation to evangelical Christianity.—The King declares himself decidedly against Indifferentism and Rational-

ism both among the Protestants and Catholics. The most decisive proof of his views, in this respect, is the nomination of the venerable ROTH, as President of the evangelical Consistorium and member of the Council of State ; a decidedly evangelical man—already known for his distinguished classical attainments, and as the long continued friend of Jacobi, and the Editor of the works of Hamann. The King knew his character, and is said to have remarked, he wished to give the Protestants, a leader out of the sixteenth century, and could make no better choice for the Catholics.—In Erlangen, a Christian spirit is manifesting itself among the students. Professor Kraft continues to labor there with increasingly good effect ; he lectures on theology to a class of about sixty, and is heard with the greatest interest ; in the introduction to his course, he related how he himself, after a long struggle with infidelity, had at last become a believer. The influence of the Professor of Natural History and Mineralogy Schubert, author of “*Altes und Neues aus der höheren Seelenkunde*,” was also very considerable. He is now removed to the new university in Munich, but has in the Counsellor von Raumer a successor, who pursues the same Christian course. The *Homiletisch liturgische Correspondenzblatt*, published at Nuremburgh by the Pastor Brand, which advocates the cause of evangelical religion with so much zeal and talent, has a constantly increasing circulation. It is exciting attention and interest even in North Germany, in Bavaria it is read even by the peasants, and many ascribe the newly awakened religious life there, principally to this publication. In Ingolstadt, where Eck, the great opponent of Luther resided, an evangelical congregation has been formed three years since, through the zeal of a few pious officers who were stationed in the place ; and to this congregation a pious minister now preaches the word of God.—The university of Munich, already one of the most important and attractive in Germany, presents a great variety of

character. In connexion with Schelling, the founder of the Nature-Philosophy, but now a firm believer in revelation, the amiable and simple Schubert pursues his course of instruction, which is attended by many Catholics, and endeavours to infuse the spirit of religion into the investigations of nature. On the other hand stands the Catholic Görres, the famous editor of the "Mercury of the Rhine," which appeared in 1814—15; who has renounced the character of Demagogue and Pantheist, and become an advocate of Scholasticism and the Hierarchy. In the Catholic Church, the aged Bishop Sailer, continues his labors with the most blessed results in Regensburg, and the Canon Widmann co-operates with him in the same spirit. In and about Landshut, the gospel is preached by several excellent disciples of Sailer, and in a district not far from Ingolstadt, which in a religious respect, was formerly in a most deplorable condition, a Catholic clergyman has produced an excitement by preaching the word of God, which will, it is hoped, through the zeal of his converts be extended far and wide. May the spirit of God soon fan these scattered sparks into a flame, which shall illumine the night of unbelief, which still broods in darkness over the land of our fathers.

[From the *Evangelische Kirchen Zeitung*.]

Neufchatel.

THE income of Preachers, in the Principality of Neufchatel, is in the general very small. No one is therefore under the temptation to seek the ministerial office, from mercenary motives, especially as a man must sometimes wait ten years, in consequence of the great number of young theologians, before he receives an appointment. Young men from pious families are almost the only persons who devote themselves

to the sacred office. In order to become a candidate, *Proposant*, (as those in the first stage of preparation for the ministry are called,) a person must be at least eighteen years old—a native of the canton—and have given at least three months notice of his intention—during which inquiries are made as to his morals and piety. Should these result satisfactorily, the candidate is admitted to an examination—on the ancient languages, rhetoric, literature, philosophy, and Hebrew grammar. Rejections are by no means infrequent, although the schools are far from being neglected. The candidate is subjected to a strict superintendence; it is expected of him to lead a quiet and retired life, and seek intercourse with the clergy. Neglect of public worship—frequent attendance of dissipating society—a want of seriousness and diligence—draw down upon him severe disapprobation. A four years course of study, and the performance of various exercises are required before ordination. Public lectures are not delivered, but the deficiency is supplied by private study and the instruction of able clergymen. The text-book for theology is commonly Osterwald's Compend, for Church History Mosheim. Turretin, Werenfels, Vernet, Beausobre, Sally, Abbadie, Pictet, &c., with the more important of the Fathers, are recommended to be studied in private. The classis (as the Synod of the clergy is called) has, since a few years, appointed a committee of its members, to superintend the studies of its candidates, which consists of a President, two Assistants, and a Secretary, and assembles every fourteen days for a session of at least three hours. All the candidates of the canton must attend these meetings, some important work (for example Calvin's Institutes) is regularly gone through, and each brings his remarks on the part previously studied at home. The exegesis of the New Testament is also attended to, or the time is occupied in exercises of a homiletical or doctrinal character. Every year in April, every candidate has an examination to sustain.

in the presence of the assembled clergy, should it not be sustained, his ordination is deferred another year. During the four years, ten sermons are preached, which must meet the approbation of the above named committee; these sermons are not delivered in the church, but in the chapel of the hospital. Those who have completed the four years course, stood the four examinations, and delivered ten satisfactory sermons, should the Synod have no objection to make on other grounds, are admitted to a final trial, which consists in two trial sermons and four examinations, at intervals of fourteen days, on the various branches of theology and philosophy. To every sermon three days are allowed. If the candidate pass this trial, he is ordained, after prayer has been offered for him in all the churches in the canton, which is done on the Sabbath preceding his ordination. After the ordination, which is private, the individual ordained bears the title, *Ministre du St. Evangile*, and is authorized and bound as *Apostle*, to preach in every church in the land wherever it may be necessary. An *Apostle* receives 12 Louisd'or, (less than 48 dollars,) as a yearly salary. The successive steps of subsequent advancement, are assistant preacher, (suffragant,) then Diaconus, and finally preacher or pastor. Only the last are members of the consistorium (*la Compagnie*;) the two Deacons have together only one voice. The classis meet the first Wednesday of every month.

The departure from the pure evangelical doctrines, has never been general in Neufchatel—fidelity to the confession of the church has been preserved—and rationalism would have been abhorred as heresy, had it attempted to force its way into the canton; although, true vital piety has suffered from the prevalent spirit of the times, it has never been extinct, and of late indications of the most favourable character have appeared.

[From the *Kirchen Zeitung*.]

Scripture Natural History ; or a Descriptive Account of the Zoology, Botany, and Geology of the Bible. Illustrated by Engravings. By WM. CARPENTER. pp. 606. Price 14s. Wightman.

THAT study which, of all others, is the most important and the most comprehensive, is the study of the inspired volume. To a knowledge of its principles, with which eternal life is connected, more than human resources and finite instruction are indispensable ; for “ this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.” But “ no man knoweth the Son but the Father ; neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.” It is this most elevated department of biblical study which should occupy our first and chief solicitude, and about which we should be continually anxious to engage the attention of others. Though this is unspeakably the best knowledge that can be obtained of the Holy Scriptures, and nearly the whole of what is attained by considerable numbers who daily and devoutly peruse them, yet that a correct understanding of a large proportion of their sacred pages is not to be possessed without the inferior aids of critical investigation and scientific research, we presume will be universally admitted. No eminence of piety, therefore, can entitle persons to treat with indifference those labors whose object is, by the illustration of the economy of nature, as exhibited in the Scriptures, to develop the infinite wisdom, power, and beneficence of the Creator.

This volume on Scripture Natural History, will form a very acceptable companion to Mr. Carpenter's recent publication, entitled “ A Popular Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures.” Like that, his present work will be found to be comprehensive, perspicuous, and highly interesting to all who are desirous of enlarging and strengthening

their acquaintance with that book, whose value and importance are inconceivably superior to that of any other. It is divided into three parts, Zoology, Botany, and Geology. Under Zoology there are six chapters, containing representations of man, beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, and insects; Botany includes five chapters, in which are descriptions of grass and herbs, plants and shrubs, trees, doubtful plants and trees, and vegetable substances; Geology, in three chapters, gives an account of stones, earths, and metals. The explanation of these subjects is assisted by forty-three engravings.

The scientific reader is well aware of the difficulty which must attend any attempt to impart intelligible information, on subjects so multifarious as the above analysis necessarily includes, within the confined limits of a single octavo; our author, however, in encountering this difficulty, appears to considerable advantage, as may be seen in the following example:—

“THE WILD BOAR.

So the wild boars spring furious from their den,
Rous'd with the cries of dogs, and voice of men;
O'er their bent backs the bristly horrors rise,
Fires stream in lightning from their sanguine eyes;
On every side the crackling trees they tear,
And root the shrubs, and lay the forest bare;
They gnash their tusks, with fire their eyeballs roll,
Till some wide wound lets out their mighty soul.

Iliad, xii. 163; xiii. 598.

“This animal, which is the original of all the varieties of the hog kind, is by no means so stupid nor so filthy an animal as that we have reduced to tameness; he is something smaller than the domestic hog, and does not so vary in his color, being always found of an iron-grey, inclining to black; his snout is much larger than that of a tame hog, and the ears are shorter, rounder and black; of which color are

also the feet and the tail. But the tusks of this animal are larger than in the tame breed; they bend upwards circularly, and are exceeding sharp at the points.

“The wild boar roots up the ground in a different manner from the common hog; for as this turns up the earth in little spots here and there, so the wild boar ploughs it up like a furrow and does irreparable damage in the cultivated lands of the farmer, destroying the roots of the vine and other plants. Hence we see the propriety with which the Psalmist represents the subversion of the Jewish commonwealth, under the allegory of a vine destroyed by one of these beasts: ‘Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt; thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it. Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land. She sent out her boughs into the sea, and her branches into the river. Why hast thou then broken down her hedges, so that all they which pass by the way do pluck her? the boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it.’ Ps. lxxx. 8—13. If the Psalm was written as is supposed, during the Babylonian captivity, the great propriety of the allegory becomes more apparent. Not satisfied with devouring the plants and fruit which have been carefully raised by the skill and attention of the husbandman, the ferocious boar lacerates and breaks with his powerful tusks, the roots and branches of the surrounding vines, and tramples them beneath his feet. The reader will easily apply this to the conduct pursued by the Chaldeans towards the Jewish state, whose desolation is thus pathetically bewailed by the prophet: ‘The Lord hath trodden under foot all my mighty men in the midst of me: he hath called an assembly against me to crush my young men; the Lord hath trodden the virgin, the daughter of Judah, as in a wine press.’ Lam. i. 15.

“The wild boar (as remarked by Goldsmith) can be called neither a gregarious nor a solitary animal. The first

three years the whole litter follows the sow, and the family lives in a herd together. They are then called 'beasts of company,' and unite their common forces against the invasions of the wolf, or the more formidable beasts of prey. When come to a state of maturity, however, and conscious of his own superior strength, the wild boar walks the forest alone, and fearless. He dreads no single creature, nor does he turn out the way, even for man himself.

"This animal is extremely fond of marshes, fens, and reedy places, so may be seen in Le Bruyn; and is probably referred to in Ps. lxxviii. 30. 'Rebuke the company of the spearmen,' literally, 'the beast of the reeds or canes.'" p. 145.

[From the Baptist Magazine.]

RABBINICAL BIOGRAPHY

No. 1.—*Rabbi Abraham Aben-Ezra.*

RABBI ABRAHAM ABEN-EZRA was an elegant writer, and held in high estimation both by Jews and Christians. He was a native of Spain, born at Toledo, in the year 1099. He was a man of most extensive learning, being well skilled in grammar, philosophy, astronomy, and medicine. He was intimately acquainted with Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic; and published many works in these learned languages. His style has been much admired for its elegance, conciseness, and perspicuity. By his countrymen he was called "The Wise," and Maimonides, who was contemporary with Aben-Ezra, held him in such high estimation, that, in a letter of instruction addressed to his son, he commands him to study the writings of Aben-Ezra continually, and to study no others, he regarding them as the most excellent, useful, elegant, learned, and abounding with sound judgment. His style has been said to approach nearly that of the Holy Scriptures.

and his commentaries upon the several books of the Old Testament are remarkable for the learning they display, and the strict manner in which the literal sense has been adhered to. Besides his commentaries, and other theological works, he composed many on grammatical and astronomical subjects, some of which are in print. He is reputed to be the inventor of the division of the celestial sphere by the equator. He travelled in most parts of Europe, and associated with the most learned of his time. His works are dated at various places, from which we may partly learn the course of his travels. He was at Mantua in 1145, at Rhodes in 1156, in England in 1159, and at Rome in 1167. He is supposed to have lived seventy-five years, but the precise period of his death is unknown. De Rossi gives a list of twenty-nine works written by Aben-Ezra.*

No. 2.—*Rabbi Levi Ben Gershon ; or, Gersonides Levi.*

This celebrated rabbi was a native of Bagnolo, a town in Provence, and born in 1288. He died at Perpignan in 1370. He was a physician, and very learned in the sciences. He wrote commentaries on the works of Aristotle, and composed several astronomical treatises ; one in particular on the motions of the celestial bodies. His exposition of the Scriptures is full of knowledge, and the style is very elegant. His commentary on the Pentateuch has been several times printed.

No. 3.—*Rabbi David Kimchi.*

Rabbi David Kimchi, the son of Joseph, the celebrated Rabbin, flourished in the 12th and 13th centuries. He is frequently called Radak by the Jews, that name being formed by the initials of his name. David Kimchi, who was born at

* Rossi Dizionario Storico degli Autori Ebrei

Narbonne, (at that time annexed to the Crown of Castile,) was perhaps the most celebrated Spanish rabbi of the time in which he lived, and his works are very numerous. The Kimchi family was composed of learned men, deeply versed in Hebrew and biblical literature. As a grammarian and Hebrew interpreter, Kimchi has been universally esteemed and followed, both by Jews and Christians. He is said to have been a warm admirer of the Moreh Nevochim of Moses Maimonides; and he was appointed, in 1232, arbiter of the disputes between the Spanish and French Synagogues, on the works of that author. His commentary, printed for the first time in 1485, has been printed in all the Rabbinical Bibles, and several times without the text. De Rossi,* well versed in Hebrew literature, has enumerated the chief of the works of Kimchi. He lived to a very advanced age, but neither the exact date of his birth nor of his decease is known.

Sanctus Pagninus is said to have borrowed the chief part of his Hebrew Lexicon and Grammar from the writings of Kimchi.

* Rossi Dizionario Storico degli Autori Ebrei, p. 185.

[From the *Jewish Expositor*.]

A REVIEW
OF
TRAVELS TO THE EAST ;
FROM
"ROSENMULLER'S ALTERTHUMSKUNDE."

Translated by Rev. James W. Alexander.

EXTRACTS.

Extracted from the "Handbuch der Biblischen Alterthumskunde, von Ernst Friedr. Karl Rosenmüller, der Theologie Doctor, und der morgenländ. Literatur ordentl. Professor zu Leipzig. Erster Band. Erster Theil. Einleitung. §7. pp. 59—106.

Among the sources of information to which the student of Biblical Antiquities has resort, an important place must be given to the accounts of such travellers as have visited those countries which are the theatre of important events mentioned in the Bible. It is evident at first sight that we must borrow first and chiefly from travellers, the knowledge of all that nature has bestowed upon a country, as its Seas, Rivers, Mountains, Valleys and Plains; its climate, weather, natural phenomena, peculiarities of the seasons and the times of sowing and harvest dependant on these, as also other facts relative to husbandry. As all these things have suffered little or no change, we may use with sufficient confidence the accounts of recent observers, for the elucidation of ancient writings. The importance of travels in the East arises from this fact among others, that the manners, customs, and economy of these countries have undergone less change than those of the West. This is especially true of such usages and customs as have their foundation in the climate and the physical condition of

those regions. The clothing of the Orientals, the arrangements of their dwellings, their mode of agriculture, their baths and unguents, their despotic government, their domestic economy and their polygamy, are at this moment what they were 2000 years ago, since these are grounded upon their climate and consequent temperament. The deserts of Syria, Arabia, and Egypt are at this day, as in the days of Abraham, traversed by wandering herdsmen who live under tents as in ancient times, and whose manners have been so little altered in the lapse of some thousand years, that he who visits their deserts and tents is strikingly reminded of the usages of the patriarchs as they are depicted in the first book of Moses. To this ambulatory life they are condemned by the nature of the wilderness, and in this wandering are founded their social institutions, and a great part of their domestic habits and usages, which will remain unaltered as long as their existence shall endure. Many valuable accounts of travels have been published by men of credibility and judicious observation, especially since the seventeenth century; and we would not pass unnoticed the older books of travels, as their authors stood nearer to scriptural times, by several centuries, than ourselves, and particularly as they were better able than later travellers to find in existence ancient monuments, which from time to time in the progress of so many centuries, are either ruined, or entirely swept away. Among these old books of travels, we reckon the relations of the Crusaders. The Crusades, which began about the end of the 11th century, caused more Europeans to visit Palestine than ever before sought that country, and led numbers who engaged in these campaigns to give accounts of their adventures, and the places where they occurred. These writers had in most

cases not only travelled in the East, but sometimes remained there many years in the enjoyment of distinguished honours.

A very full account of travels as late as 1780 is to be found in J. G. Meusel's *Biblioth. Histor.* Vol. I. P. II. pp. 54 & 72. Vol. II. P. I. pp. 22, 207 & 243. Vol. I. P. II. p. 319. & Vol. III. P. I. p. 88. to which may be added the Appendix as far as the year 1801 in Vol. X. P. II.—Ample notices of travels in the countries which compose the Turkish Empire, extending as far as 1789, with good remarks, were published by Chrph. Wilh. Lüdeke (Preacher to the Evangelical congregation at Smyrna from 1759 to 1768) in his *Description of the Turkish Empire.* P. I. p. 389, &c. P. II. p. 92, &c. P. III. p. 67, &c. Remarks upon the ancient and modern writers of travels, especially with reference to their value for the natural history of the East, are contained in the Prefaces to the first five parts of Samuel Oedmann's miscellaneous collections of natural history, for the elucidation of the Sacred Scriptures, from the Swedish, Rostock, 1786—1795. Consult also Bellermann's *Manual for Biblical Literature*, P. II. p. 73. Second edition, Erfurt. The "Collection of remarkable travels in the East, in translations and extracts, with maps and engravings, and with useful introductions and indexes," contains accounts of travels important in reference to Biblical Archaeology: it was published by H. E. G. Paulus in 7 vols. 8vo. Jena, 1792—1803. We ought also to mention the "Collection portative de Voyages traduits de différentes langues orientales et Européennes, par L. Langlèz," in five small volumes, Paris, 1797—1805, with an atlas and plates.

We shall now proceed to give a review of the most important accounts of travels in the East, especially of

such as shall be referred to in the following work; in which we shall observe the chronological order of the travels, as they were made.

A valuable collection of the narratives of such as were actors in the Crusades, and who visited the Holy Land after the end of the 11th century, is contained in a work compiled by *Jacob Bongars*, under the following title: "*Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionum et regni Francorum Hierosolymitani historia, a variis, sed illius ævi scriptoribus, litteris commendata, nunc primum aut editis, aut ad libros veteres emendatis*," Hanau. 1611, two volumes fol. An ample account of the contents of the two volumes is contained in Meusel's *Bibl. Histor.* Vol. II. P. II. p. 271, &c.

Reyssbuch des heyligen Landes--that is, an accurate account of all and every voyage and pilgrimage to the Holy Land whilst in the power of the Infidels, whether undertaken in warlike array, or for purposes of devotion, &c. &c. together with a description of the Holy Land, its provinces, &c. with their cities, villages, &c. &c. Frankfurt am Mayn, 1609.*

The Publisher, *Nicholas Roth*, informs us in the preface, that this collection was first undertaken by *Sigmund Feyrabend*, and in 1583 appeared in one volume. As he had now purchased the whole edition of Feyrabend, the copies of which were almost all scattered, he resolved to publish a new edition enlarged by new travels, and comprised in two volumes. This collection contains twenty-one accounts of travels, of which some are translated into German from the Latin and other European languages, though in a negligent manner. The most complete ac-

* We do not think it necessary to give in full in every instance the titles of those old German books, which in some cases take up nearly a page.—*Translator*.

count of this work is given by *Lüdeke*, in the work above mentioned, P. II. p. 96. The oldest of these selections is the description of the notable campaign of the Christians in the Holy Land, in the year 1095, under Godfrey of Boulogne, by *Ruperti*, Abbot of Bergen; the latest is *John Schwallart's* (*Zuallart's*) account of his pilgrimage in 1586: the author was a Netherlander, and the book originally appeared in French.

A number of old travels, earlier than the 16th century, may be found described in the following collection of French translations: "*Voyages faits principalement en Asie dans les XII. XIII. XIV. et XV. siècles, par Benjamin de Tudele, Jean du Plan-Carpin, Nic. Ascelin, Guillaume de Rubriques, Marc Paul Venitien, Haiton, Jean de Mandeville, et Ambroise Contarini, accompagnés de l'histoire des Sarrasins et des Tartares, etc. par Pierre Bergeron: à la Haye,*" 1735, two vols. small folio. The author of the first production of this series, Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela in Navarre, left behind him in the Hebrew language, a description of his travels made in the years between 1160 and 1173, through a great part of the then known world. These travels appear to have been printed first in Hebrew, at Constantinople, 1543, in octavo: then at Ferrara 1556, and at Freyburg in Swabia, 1583. *Benedict Arias Montanus* gave a latin translation at Antwerp 1575, in octavo, and *Constantin L'Empereur* a new Latin version with the Hebrew text on one side, and annotations, at Leyden 1633, in small octavo. A translation more correct in many points, with critical investigations concerning the information of Benjamin, was published by *Baratier*, so celebrated for his precocity of intellect, under the following title: "*Voyages de Rabbi Benjamin. fils de Jona de Tudele, en Europe, en Asie, et en Afrique, depuis l'Espagne jusqu'à la Chine. Ou l'en trouve plu-*

sieurs choses remarquables concernant l'histoire et la géographie et particulièrement l'état des Juifs au douzième siècle. Traduits de l'Hebreu et enrichis de notes et de Dissertations historiques et critiques sur ces Voyages. Par J. P. Baratier, T. I. II. Amsterdam, 1734," in octavo. Baratier, who wrote this work, replete with astonishing learning, at the age of *thirteen years*, makes it in the highest degree probable (Vol. II. p. 7.) that Benjamin never visited the lands of which he gives an account, as he shews that what purports to be a description of travels swarms with the silliest fables; and in particular, that the many palpable errors in the statement of the distances between places, could proceed only from a writer whose knowledge of the countries concerning which he speaks was exceedingly imperfect. For the literary notices of Benjamin's travels, see *Wolfii Bib. Hebr.* Vol. I. p. 247. Vol. III. p. 152. Vol. IV. p. 798, and *Köcher's Nova Biblioth. Hebr.* P. I. p. 34.

"Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables trouvées en Grece, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie, et autres pays estranges, redigées en trois Livres, par *Pierre Belon du Mans*," Paris, 1553. "Reueuz de rechef, et augmentez de figures, avec une nouvelle table de toutes les matieres traictées en iceux," from Slantin's press, with many wood-cuts. Antwerp, 1555, Svo. and Paris 1588, 4to. Extracts with remarks of a naturalist in Paulus's Collection of Travels, P. I. p. 197. P. II. pp. 1—26. P. III. pp. 17—42, and 130—223. The author, one of the most learned and excellent naturalists, made his journey in the East, not, as it is said in Paulus's Collection, (P. I. pp. 197, 199) in the years 1546—1549, but in 1537 and the following years, (v. Livr. II. c. 74. fol. 239 of the Antwerp edition). Although the principal object of the author was to describe the natural phe-

nomena observed by him, yet he has also carefully and accurately depicted the manners, usages, and public and domestic arrangements of the countries through which he passed. The author was murdered in the year 1564, in the forest of Boulogne near Paris.

Leonharti Rauwolfen, Doctor of Medicine and Physician in Augsburg—"Description of a journey which he has recently completed with no little trouble and danger, in the East, especially in Syria, Judaea, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, Armenia, &c. together with an account of certain beautiful foreign plants, &c. &c. &c. Langingen, 1583, quarto."

The pages of the first three parts go on without interruption to page 487. The fourth part consists of forty-two wood-cuts of plants. The author commenced his journey in May 1573, and returned in February 1576. An ample notice of the contents of this book of travels is given by Lüdeke, P. II. pp. 113—116. At the conclusion of his remarks he says, "One would scarcely suppose that 200 years ago so good a book of travels would have been composed as this actually is. We have only to regret that it is written in such antiquated German, which in words and orthography strangely differs from the present language, and also the incorrect printing of foreign words, by which it is still more disfigured. He inserts very strange, and often entirely false accounts, but in what he himself describes he appears to deserve the greatest credit. He has carefully observed the Oriental manners. This book is not unworthy of being again published, either in a good abridgment, or in a version into our own dialect, for the more general use of readers." These travels are in the first volume of the *Reyssbuch* or Book of travels in the Holy Land, already mentioned. In *Jöcher's Gelehrten-Lexicon*, it is said that *Rauwolf* had come on his re-

turn from his Oriental travels as far as Hungary, and that he died at Hatwan in the year 1606. This probable account, taken from *Adami's Vitis Eruditorum* and *Kestner's* Lexicon of learned Physicians, is contradicted by another, which is written by some ancient hand opposite to the title page of the copy of Rauwolf's travels which is in the possession of the author, as old probably as the end of the 16th century, and which we here insert with diplomatic exactness. "This Leonhard Rauwolf D. perished miserably in the flower of his youth. A few years after his return to Augsburg, having undergone a great deal of labour, fatigue, and danger, he engaged in a bet for a few ducats, to jump over the cistern at the well of St. Anna. Unfortunately he sprang into the water. The youth present, interested in the result of the bet, failed in time to render him assistance, and he thus was miserably drowned.—God grant him a happy resurrection. Amen." [This is the substance of the old German note to which Rosenmuller refers.]

"Ierosolymitana peregrinatio Illustrissimi Principis Nicolai Christophori Radzivili, Ducis Olicae et Niewisii, Palatini Vilmensis, militis Hierosolymitani, etc., primum a Thoma Tretero, custode Varmiensi, ex Polonico sermone in Latinum translata, nunc varie aucta et correctius in lucem edita," Antwerp 1614, fol. These travels do not consist, as *Läideke* asserts (P. II. p. 98), of four volumes, but of four letters. The first is dated the last of May 1583, at Cyprus, and treats of what is remarkable in the islands of Crete and Cyprus; the second is from Tripolis in Syria, written July 29, 1583, and gives an account of Palestine; the third from Sitia, Oct. 25, 1583, contains a full description of Egypt; the fourth is after the return of the author to Nieswitz, of date July 10th, 1584, and details the incidents of his journey homeward

As an appendix follows "Ordo processionis S. Sepulchri, item modus ordinandi S. Sepulchri militem," together with a plan from copper-plate of the church of the holy sepulchre. A German translation of this very useful book of travels is contained in the "Reyssbuch des heyligen Landes."

"Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum, in quo variarum gentium mores et instituta, insularum, regionum urbium situs, una ex prisei recentiorisque sæculi usu; una cum eventis, quæ auctori terra marique acciderunt, dilucide recensentur. Accessit Synopsis Reipublicæ Venetæ. Auctore Joanne Cotovico, Ultrajecto, J. V. D. et Milite Hierosolymitano;" Antwerp, 1619, in large quarto. Cotowyk entered upon his journey in the beginning of August, 1598, and returned to Venice in May 1599. *Lüdeke*, who gives the contents of his book at large, expresses concerning it the following very correct opinion, Part II. p. 125. "This is one of the best books of travels which we have, upon Palestine and Syria, and is a masterpiece for the age in which the author lived. His accounts have been used by many who have not mentioned his name."

"Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino, descritti da lui medesimo in lettere familiari al suo amico Mario Schipano, scritte dell' anno 1614, fin', al 1626, divisi in trè parti; cioe la Turchia, la Persia e l'India." Rome, 1658, 1658, 1663. Three Parts in four Volumes quarto. The first part was reprinted in 1662, with the life of the author and his likeness. Both are prefixed to the German translation, which appeared in folio with copper-plates, at Geneva, under the following title, "Petri della Valle, eines vornehmen Römischen Patritii, Reiss-Beschreibung in unterschiedliche Theile der Welt, nemlich in Turkey, Aegypten, Palestina, Persien, Ost-Indien."

und andere weit entlegene Landschafften," U. S. W. Della Valle was not only one of the most learned of travellers, but also one of the most interesting of men, and there are few books of travels which furnish the reader with such a union of instruction and entertainment. An excellent view of the life and travels of Peter Della Valle is given by Goethe in his *Westöstlichen Divan*, (pp. 466—497) which may be inserted here as the most valuable opinion of these travels. "It may be remarked that every man prefers above all others that path by which he has himself been conducted to any knowledge or instruction, and would gladly introduce and initiate his successors through the same way. In this view I have given a circumstantial account of Peter Della Valle, as he was the traveller by whose means the peculiarities of the East were first and most clearly developed before my mind, and as from my predilections it seems to me that from his representations I derived a peculiar ground and basis for my *Divan*. May this prove an incitement to some, in this age which is so rich in single sheets and pamphlets, to peruse a folio, by which they will be introduced to an important World, which, though from recent travels it may appear superficially altered, will still prove to be fundamentally the same, as it appeared at that day to this distinguished man." We remark here that Della Valle was the first who gave certain information of the Samaritans, and that we are to thank him also for the knowledge of the Samaritan Recension of the Pentateuch. Through his hands arrived the first copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch in Europe. He had purchased it in the year 1616 at Damascus, for Mons. de Sancy, then French ambassador, afterwards Bishop of St. Malo, who at a late period presented it to the Fathers of the Oratory at Paris.

By the side of *Della Valle* deserves to be placed a German traveller of the same century, *Adam Olearius*. He visited Persia a few years after *Della Valle*, (1636 to 1638) as *Conseiller d'ambassade* to an embassy which the duke Frederic third, of Sleswick and Holstein, sent to the Shah of Persia for the purpose of instituting commercial connexions. After his return he was appointed Librarian at Gottorf, and made public the history of his journey, first in 1647 at Sleswick, in folio. A second and third augmented edition appeared in the years 1656 and 1663, likewise at Sleswick, in folio. After his death an edition enriched with new matter was published under the following title: "The Travels of the celebrated Adam Olearius, collected and augmented, with the Oriental travels of John Albrechts von Mandelslo, and Jürgen Anderson, and Volquart Iversen;" &c. &c. Hamburg, 1696, in two folio volumes. Olearius not only describes the natural condition, and the state-constitutions of the countries through which he travelled, but also gives graphic and lively delineations of life and manners in Persia, from the highest to the lowest order. His travels are still numbered among the best works upon Persia.

At the same time that Olearius was in Persia, this kingdom was visited for the first time by *John Baptist Tavernier*, Baron of Aubonne. In subsequent times, and as late as 1664, he five times visited Persia and India as a Jewel-merchant. The history of his travels appeared under the following title: "Six Voyages en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes faits pendant l'espace de quarante ans, accompagnés d'observations particulières sur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coutumes, et le commerce de chaque païs, avec les figures, les poids, et la valeur des monnoies, qui y ont cours. Par J. B. Ta-

vernier, Paris, 1676," in two quarto volumes. A few years after the author published a Supplement, entitled : "Recueil de plusieurs relations et traités singuliers et curieux non compris dans ses six premiers voyages, avec figures en taille douce, Paris, 1679," in quarto. Editions of the whole work were afterwards printed at Utrecht, in 1712, in three 8vo. volumes, at Rouen in 1713, in five 12mo. volumes, and at the Hague in 1718, in three 8vo. volumes. In the same year appeared two German translations, the one by *J. Menudier*, at Nuremburg, 1681, the other by *John Herm. Widerhold*, at Geneva 1681; both in three Parts, (forming however but one volume) in folio, with copper-plates. From his having spent the greater part of his life in Persia, and having travelled through the land in every direction, he was in a situation to acquire more correct information of many things than other travellers, who remain there often only a few months. His descriptions shew him to have been a man of penetration, and in a high degree possessed of the faculty of forming correct opinions.

In the same year in which Tavernier for the last time visited Persia, (1664) a countryman of his, and like him a Jeweller, travelled to the same country; this was *John Chardin*. He soon acquired the title of Merchant of the Schah of Persia, which afforded him free access to the greatest men of the kingdom, and to the Shah himself.

He remained six years in Persia, and returned in the year 1670 to his native land, but betook himself in the following year a second time to Persia, which he again left towards the end of the year 1677. About this time began the persecution of the Huguenots in France. Chardin, who was a Protestant, chose England as the place of his retreat, where he arrived in April of the year 1681. Charles II. conferred upon him by patent

the honours of knighthood, and decorated him with the insignia of the order. He published first in London a part of the description of his travels in one volume, small folio, with plates, in 1686. His complete travels he published first, twenty-five years afterwards, at Amsterdam in the year 1711, in two editions, in three volumes quarto, and in ten volumes duodecimo, with seventy-nine copper-plates. The Editor, Delorme, was induced to suppress a number of anecdotes and remarks which had hindered the sale of the work in Roman Catholic countries. After the death of Chardin, however, (1713) a company of Dutch booksellers who had purchased the original manuscripts of the author, and the copper-plates belonging to it, took care to set forth a complete edition, which appeared at Amsterdam, in the year 1735, in four volumes quarto. As this edition was always scarce, and as according to the assertion of the latest Editor, it was disfigured by many typographical errors, omissions of words and phrases, the enterprize of a new and improved publication of the work was certainly a laudable undertaking. It appears with the following title: "*Voyages de Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient, enrichi d'un grand nombre de belles figures en taille-douce, representant les antiquités et les chose remarquables du pays. Nouvelle édition, Soigneusement conférée sur les trois éditions originales, augmentée d'une Notice de la Perse depuis les tems le plus reculés jusqu'à ce jour, de Notes, etc. Par L. Langlès, Membre de l'Institut, un des Administrateurs—Conservateurs de la Bibliotheque Imperiale, Professeur de Persan a l'Ecole Speciale des langues Orientales vivantes, etc ;*" Paris, 1811, in ten octavo volumes, with a folio atlas containing charts and copper-plates.

The work of Chardin has a distinguished and lasting

worth as the most full and true delineation of the state of Persia, and of a great part of middle Asia, in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

The Chevalier *Laurent d'Arvieux* at the early age of eighteen years, viz. in the year 1653, accompanied a relation who went as French consul to Saida (the ancient Sidon), and during a residence of twelve years in different cities of Syria and Palestine, acquired a competent knowledge of the manners and languages of those countries. In the year 1668, he was sent by the French government to Tunis, to mediate concerning a peace, and thus bestowed freedom upon 380 of his countrymen who were there held in slavery. In the year 1672, he went with orders of his government to Constantinople, and in 1679 he was French Consul at Aleppo, where he died in October 1702. The account of his travels was not published by himself, nor did it receive his last corrections. Some years after his death there appeared from his papers the "*Voyage dans la Palestine, vers le grand Emir, Chef des Princes Arabes du Desert, connus sous le nom de Bedouins, ou d'Arabes Scenites, qui se disent la vraie posterité d'Ismaël fils d'Abraham. Fait par ordre du Roi Louis XIV. Avec la description generale de l'Arabie, faite par le Sultan Ismael Abulfeda, traduite en François sur les meilleurs Manuserits, avec des Notes, Par Mr. de la Roque,*" Paris, 1717, and Amsterdam, 1718, in small octavo. *Arvieux's* account of the Bedouin Arabs is proved by penetrating and credible travellers who have after him visited those tribes, to be a most faithful and complete delineation of the manner of life and habits of these dwellers in the desert. The use of which these accounts may be to the interpreter of the ancient books of the Bible, has been in an eminent manner exhibited by *J. D. Michaelis* in his *Commentary on the Laws of Moses*, and in his *An-*

notations to his version of the Old Testament. A German translation of the work has appeared, entitled, "Die Sitten der Beduinen-Araber. Ausdem Französischen des Ritter's Arvieux übersetzt mit Anmerkungen und Zusätzen von E. F. K. Rosenmüller. Mit einem biblisch-zoologischen Anhang des Uebersetzers. Leipzig, 1789," 8vo. The account of d'Arvieux's whole travels, including the above-named description of the manners of the Bedouins, is contained in the "Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux, contenant ses voyages à Constantinople, dans l'Asie, la Syrie, la Palestine, l'Egypte, et la Barbarie, recueillis de ses originaux, par (J. B.) Labat," Paris, 1785 : in six octavo volumes. In German : "Des Herrn von Arvieux hinterlassene merkwürdige Nachrichten," U. S. W. Copenhagen and Leipsick, 1753, in six octavo volumes.

"Oriental Travels, by Francis Ferdinand von Troilo, of Tassot, Jeutritz, Giessdorff and Kalsdorff (in Upper Silesia). Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, which he accomplished from Germany by the way of Venice, through the kingdom of Cyprus, to the Holy Land, especially the City of Jerusalem, thence into Egypt, to Mount Sinai, and many other distant parts of the East, by water and land, and with many vicissitudes of good and bad fortune ; particularly how he was made captive by pirates on his return, carried to Algiers in Barbary, twice sold, and through divine Providence again set free ; in which all the countries and places are amply described, their inhabitants, customs, religion, manners, and whatever appeared remarkable, with special care are distinguished, and all digested in a complete register." Dresden, 1677, in quarto : Leipsick 1717, octavo : and Dresden and Leipsick, 1733, octavo. The author commenced his journey in January of the year 1666, and returned to his native coun-

try in March of the year 1670. He is in particular satisfactory in describing the places mentioned in the Bible, and the notices of such things as he saw and experienced bear the stamp of truth.

“Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant, dans laquelle il est curieusement traité des états sujets au Grand Seigneur, des moeurs, religions, forces, gouvernemens, politiques, langues, et coustumes des habitans de ce grand empire. Et des singularitez particulieres de l'Archipel, Constantinople, Terre Sainte, Egypte, Pyramides, Mummies, Deserts d'Arabie, la Méque, et de plusieurs autres lieux de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, remarqués depuis peu et non encore descrits jusqu' à present. Outre les choses memorables arrivées au dernier Siège de Bagdat, les ceremonies faites aux receptions des ambassadeurs du Mogol, et l'entretien de l'Autheur avec celuy du Pretejan, où il est parlé des cources du Nil. Par Mr. de Thevenot,” Rouen and Paris, 1663, quarto. “Suite du voyage de Levant de Mr. Thevenot,” Paris, 1674, quarto; and “Voyage de Mr. de Thevenot contenant la relation de l'Indostan, etc.,” Paris, 1684. quarto. Republished together in five volumes 8vo. with copper-plates. Amsterdam 1727. In German, entitled “Des Herrn von Thevenot Reisen in Europa, Asia, und Africa, in drey Einen Band ausmachenden Theilen Frankfurt am Mayn,” 1693, 4to. Lüddecke says in the description of the Turkish Empire, P. I. p. 415: “Melchisedeck de Thevenot, a celebrated European traveller, Librarian to the King of France, who died 1692, has acquired a place among the writers upon the Levant and Eastern countries, although he never saw those lands, but has merely collected the materials of his works from the mouths of travellers, and from credible writers, from *d'Arvieux* in particular.” This opinion, which *Meusel* in the *Biblioth. histor.* Vol. II. P. I. p. 257.

has transcribed, is totally unfounded, and arose from confounding two persons who had the same surname, as *John Beckmann* has amply shewn in an Essay in the *Leipziger Allgem. Literarischen Anzeiger*, for the year 1799, p. 113—1120, from which *Meusel*, in the Supplement to the *Biblioth. histor.* Vol. X. P. II. p. 171. took the principal idea. *Melchisidek de Thevenot*, whom some name *Nicholas* and some *Melchior*, certainly travelled only through some parts of Europe, so that *Lüdeke* rather improperly terms him “a celebrated European traveller,” but published, under the title of “*Relations de divers voyages curieux*,” Paris, 1663, a collection of several accounts of travels, by various authors. The author of the travels whose title is above mentioned, on the other hand, (called *John* in the “*Siècles littéraires de la France*,” by *Desessarts*, Paris, 1801. VI. B. p. 207.) entered upon his first journey to Egypt, Palestine and Syria, in the last of May 1655, going from Rome, where he had enjoyed the society of the celebrated *D’Herbelot*, author of the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, as a preparation for his journey ; and returned in April of the year 1659. In October 1663, he undertook a second journey through Syria to Persia and India, but died on his return at Miana, a village between Ispahan and Tabriz, on the 28th of November 1667. The account of these two journeys has been published from the traveller’s journals by an unknown person, who speaks of himself in the preface as *Thevenot’s* heir, in 1674 : and in 1684 appeared at Paris two 4to volumes, which make the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the 8vo edition. *Thevenot’s* travels appear to be less esteemed of late than they deserve to be ; his accounts, which are given in a manner simple and artless, exhibit him as a correct observer and judge.

The description of Egypt by *John Michael Wansleb*.

in the year 1664, remained unpublished, until it was printed in the third volume of *Paulus's* Collection of Oriental travels, from a manuscript of the original in the University library at Göttingen, formerly belonging to Job Ludolf. Wansleb himself made public an account of a later journey, under the following title: "*Nouvelle Relation en forme de Journal d'un Voyage fait en Egypte en 1672 et 1673*," at Paris, 1677, in small octavo. A translation somewhat abridged is to be found in the Collection of Paulus, p. 127, &c. The value of the narrative of Wansleb for information respecting Egypt is generally unknown. In the Introduction to the description of Egypt first published by Paulus, *Reuss* gives some account of the author's life and circumstances.

"Voyage au Levant, c'est-à-dire, dans les principaux endroits de l'Asie mineure, dans les isles de Chio, Rhodes et Chypre, etc., de même que dans les plus considerables villes d'Egypte, de Syrie, et de la Terre Sainte; enrichi de plus de deux cens Tailles-douces, où sont représentées les plus célèbres villes, païs, bourgs, et autres choses dignes de remarque, le tout dessiné d'après nature, par Corneille le Brun, Paris, 1714:" folio. The name of the author, who was a native of the Netherlands, is upon the title page printed *Le Brun*, being probably gallicized by the Editor. He calls himself *De Bruyn* in the Dedication to Anthony Ulrich Duke of Brunswiek, and also in the poems and letters printed after the preface. He began his travels in October 1674, and returned towards the end of the year 1683. His narrative was published first in Dutch, at Delft, 1699. In the French edition, the title of which is given above, we are informed that it is much enlarged and improved. His object was chiefly to present accurate views of the countries and places visited by him, and of the remarkable build-

ings and antiquities there remaining, as well as of the objects of nature and domestic life. He is likewise known to have used the words of earlier travellers, when he found them correct.—In the year 1701 *De Bruyn* undertook a second extensive journey, of which he published an account, after his return in October 1708, entitled: “*Voyages de Corneille Le Brun par la Moscovie en Perse, et aux Indes Orientales. Ouvrage enrichi de plus de 320 Tailles douces, des plus curieuses, représentant les plus belles vuës de ces païs, leur principales villes, les differens habillemens des peuples, qui habitent ces regions éloignées, les animaux, les oiseaux, les poissons, et les plantes extraordinaires, qui s’y trouvent, avec les antiquites de ces païs, et particulièrement celles du fameux Palais de Persepolis, que les Perses appellent Chelminar. Le tout dessinée d’après nature sur les lieux. On y ajouté le route qu’a suivie Mr. Isbrants, Ambassadeur de Moscovie, en traversant la Russie et la Tartarie, pour se rendre à la Chine et quelques Remarques contre Mrs. Chardin et Kaempfer. Avec une Lettre à l’Auteur sur ce sujet.*” Amsterdam, 1718, in two parts, forming one volume folio. *De Bruyn* employed great care during this journey upon the representation of the ruins of Persepolis, among which he remained three months for this purpose. Both the books of *De Bruyn* belong to the elegant works of their age. One printed at Rouen in 1725 in five 4to volumes, is negligently done, the plates are diminished, and many are omitted.

“*Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-medicarum fasciculus V, quibus continentur variae relationes, observationes et descriptiones rerum Persicarum et ulterioris Asiae, multa attentione in peregrinationibus per univrsam Orientem collectæ auctore Engelberto Kaempfero, D.*” Lemgo, 1712, in quarto. The author, who died in

the year 1716, while Physician in ordinary to the Count von der Lippe, went in 1683 as secretary of legation with the Swedish embassy to Russia and Persia, and travelled through a large part of Eastern Asia. The work mentioned above contains a treasure of valuable information, highly important to the Biblical Archaeologist, which Kämpfer had an opportunity of collecting during a ten years' residence in the East.

“ *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont-Liban, contenant la description de tout le pays compris sous le nom de Liban et d'Anti-Liban, Kesroan, etc., ce qui concerne l'origine, la créance, et les moeurs des peuples qui habitent ce pays, la description des ruines d'Heliopolis, aujourd'huy Balbek, et une Dissertation historique sur cette ville ; avec un abrégé de la vie de Mr. de Chasteuil, Gentilhomme de Provence, Solitaire du Mont-Liban, et l'histoire du Prince Junès, Maronite, mort pour la religion dans ces derniers temps. Par Mr. de la Roque.*” Paris 1722, in two small octavo volumes. The author travelled through Lebanon and the neighbouring countries in the year 1688. His account shews him to have been a well educated man, of careful observation.

“ *Description de l'Egypte, contenant plusieurs remarques curieuses sur la Geographie ancienne et moderne de ce païs, sur ses monumens anciens, sur les moeurs, les costumes et religion des habitans, sur le gouvernement et la commerce, sur les animaux, les arbres, les plantes, etc. Composée sur les Mémoires de Monsieur de Maillet, ancien Consul de France en Caire, par Mr. l'Abbé Le Mascrier. Ouvrage enrichi de Cartes et de Figures,*” Paris, 1735, in quarto, and at the Hague, 1740, in 2 vols. 8vo. Maillet was from 1692 sixteen years French Consul in Egypt, and his work is among the best which we have upon Egypt.

"A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, at Easter A. D. 1697. With an account of the Author's Journey to the banks of Euphrates, to Beer, and to the country of Mesopotamia. By Henry Maundrell," Oxford, 1740, in octavo. This is the title of the sixth edition; the first appeared without the description of the Journey to the Euphrates, at Oxford, 1703. In German in the first volume of Paulus's Collection. This book of travels, written by a Preacher to the English factory at Aleppo, contains many useful remarks upon the Antiquities and Geography of the Bible.

"Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant. On y trouvera entr'autre une description de la haute Egypte, suivant le cours du Nil, depuis le Caire jusques aux Cataractes, avec une Carte exacte de ce fleuve, que personne n'avoit donnée : "Hague, 1705, 2 volumes small octavo, also at Paris 1731, in like form. "Voyage du Paul Lucas, fait par ordre du Roi dans la Grèce. l'Asie mineure, le Macedoine et l'Afrique, avec figures," Paris, 1712, and Amsterdam, 1714, in two volumes octavo. "Voyage du Paul Lucas, fait en 1714 par ordre de Louis XIV. dans la Turquie, L'Asie, Sourie, Palestine, haute et basse Egypte," Rouen, 1719, and Amsterdam, 1720, in 2 volumes octavo, and Paris, 1724, in three volumes octavo, with copper-plates. The German translation of these travels appeared from time to time at Hamburg, 1709 1715, 1721, and 1722, in small octavo. Lucas made his first voyage in the year 1699. He gives account chiefly of what befel him upon his travels, with cursory remarks upon such things as he observed, but seldom any careful descriptions. According to information derived by *Lüdeke* (P. III. P. 174) from a letter of the former Swedish Ambassadors at Constantinople, *Höpken* and *Carlson*, (in *Gjörwell's Swenska Biblioth. P. IV.*) Lucas on his return from the Levant to Paris had the description

of his travels written by a monk who had also travelled in the east, accounts being also interspersed of countries which he had never visited.

“*Reizen door en gedeelte van Europa, klein Asien, verscheide Eilanden van de Archipel, Syrien, Palestina. Aegypten, den Berg Sinai, etc. door J. A. van Egmond van der Nyenburg, en Joh. Heyman, Leyden,*” 1757 and 1758 : in two quarto volumes. *Heymann*, Professor of Oriental Literature at Leyden, travelled in the years between 1700 and 1709 ; *Egmond*, Dutch ambassador to Naples, in the years 1720 to 1723. Dr. John Wm. Heymann reduced the papers of both to an epistolary form, and appended literary notes. In *Lüdeke's* judgment (P. II. p. 182.) this is one of the best of the existing books of Travels, and affords more satisfaction than most of an early date.

“*Relation d'un Voyage du Levant, contenant l'histoire ancienne et moderne des plusieurs isles de l'Archipel, de Constantinople, des côtes de la Mer Noir, de l'Armenie, de la Georgie, des frontieres de Perse et de l'Asie mineure, par Mr. Pitton de Tournefort ;*” Paris, 1717, in two volumes quarto, at Lyons, 1717, in three volumes octavo, and at Amsterdam, 1718 and 1728, in two volumes quarto. All these editions are furnished with copperplates, as is also the complete German translation, Nuremberg, 1776, 1777, in three volumes octavo. Tournefort entered upon his travels in the month of March 1700, and gave the results in letters written to Count Pontchartrain. This is one of the richest books of travels, containing especially valuable remarks upon comparative Geography and Botany.

Father *Claudius Sicard*, of the Society of Jesus, went in the year 1706 as Missionary to Syria, and thence to Egypt, where he died in 1726. His excellent remarks upon

Egypt, which are scattered through several volumes of the "Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant," as well as an essay in the same work upon the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, are translated in *Paulus's* Collection, P. IV. p. 289, &c., and P. V. pp. 1—263. To these volumes are added out of the above mentioned "Memoires," accounts of certain other Missionaries in Egypt, in the first twenty years of the eighteenth century.

"*Thomas Shaw's Travels, or Observations relating to several parts of Barbary and of the Levant. With a collection of such papers as serve to illustrate the foregoing observations, and a Specimen Phytographiae Africanæ, of Corals, of the rarest fossils, fishes, shells, &c. With copper-plates.*" Oxford, fol. 1738. "Supplement to a book entitled Travels, Observations, &c. Wherein some objections lately made against it are fully considered and answered, with several additional remarks and dissertations." Oxford, fol. 1746. The additional matter contained in this supplement is interspersed through the book at proper places, in the second edition which appeared at London in a large 4to vol. 1757. A German translation, which however is considered by J. D. Michaelis (*Oriental. Biblioth. Vol. VIII. p. 115*) as very imperfect, appeared at Leipsick in quarto, 1765. Shaw, who at his death in 1751 was Professor of the Greek language at Oxford, and Master of Edmund Hall, was from 1720 to 1732, Chaplain to the English factory at Algiers, and travelled in Barbary, Egypt, and Syria. The results of his observations made during a residence of twelve years in the East, he has embodied in the works of which we have given the title above, not however in the form of a Journal, but systematically arranged. It contains a fund of geographical, physical. and antiquarian in-

struction, which no man could exhibit who did not unite the greatest learning, the most remarkable faculty of observation, and the soundest judgment. Throughout the whole he has reference to the elucidation of the Scriptures, and the fifth chapter of the second part contains a treatise upon the land of Goshen, the place where the Israelites passed the Arabian gulph, and their course through the wilderness of Mount Sinai.—A letter of Dr. Shaw to Dr. Sherrard, upon some plants of the Arabian desert, which first appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, Jan. 1796, is translated into German by *Paulus* in the Collection of remarkable travels in the East. P. IV. p. 224, &c.

“The Travels of the late Charles Thompson, Esqr. containing his observations on France, Italy, Turkey in Europe, the Holy Land, Arabia, Egypt, and many other parts of the world; giving a particular and faithful account of what is most remarkable in the manners, religion, polity, antiquities, and natural history of those countries; with a curious description of Jerusalem as it now appears, and other places mentioned in the Holy Scriptures: the whole forming a complete view of the ancient and modern state of a great part of Europe, Asia, and Africa, published from the author's original manuscript, interspersed with the remarks of several other travellers, and illustrated with historical, geographical and miscellaneous notes by the Editor:” Dublin, 1744, 4 vols. 8vo. and London 1748, in 3 vols. 8vo. with plates. The author visited Palestine in the year 1734, and his observations upon this country are completely translated into the German in the Historical Collections of Baumgarten.*

* Sammlung von Erläuterungsschriften und Zusätzen zur allgemeinen Welthistoire, von S. J. Baumgarten, 4to Halle, 1747. Band I Zweite Abtheil. S. 1.—106.

“Voyage en Turquie et en Perse. Avec une relation des expéditions de Tahmas K̄ouli-Khan. Par Mr. Otter, de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et belles Lettres.” Paris, 1748, 2 vols. 8vo. A German translation of the first volume by *G. F. C. Schad* appeared at Nuremberg in 1781. The author went with despatches of his government in the beginning of the year 1734 to Constantinople, and thence in 1736 with the Persian ambassador to Persia, where he remained until the year 1739. He then visited Bagdad and Bassora, and returned to Constantinople in 1743. This is one of the best books of travels. The author touches only briefly on such things as have been satisfactorily described by other travellers. This work has peculiar worth with reference to Geography, as the provinces, cities, mountains, rivers, productions, &c. are described, and the situation of the most remarkable places is given according to their latitude and longitude.

“Richard Pococke’s Travels in the East, and some other countries, with cuts and maps.” London, from 1743 to 1748, in three volumes folio, and again at the same place in 1770, in three volumes quarto. A German translation by *Christ. Ernest von Windheim*, appeared at Erlangen in three 4to volumes, in 1754; entitled “Richard Pococke’s Beschreibung des Morgenlandes und einiger anderer Länder,” with all the maps and plates of the original, and a Preface by *Chancellor von Mocheim*. Improved by *J. F. Breyer* and enriched with the remarks on natural history of *J. Chr. D. Schreber*, A. D. 1771. Pococke began his travels in the year 1737, and returned in 1740. He was a man well versed in classical literature and antiquities, and his work is justly esteemed one of the most important upon the East. In using this work it may be well to attend to a remark of *J. D. Michaelis*, in the Ori-

ental Biblioth. P. VIII. p. 111. "Unless his work is read with a peculiar attention, it is by no means so deserving of confidence as many others of the best or even the middle class of travellers. The reader must distinguish between Pococke the eye-witness and Pococke who has heard something in those countries, and yet again from Pococke the copyist of the ancients; and to make this distinction is through his own fault sometimes difficult. He has the fault,—of mingling in such a manner among his own, not only accounts derived from other travellers, but also what he has taken from Greek authors, that one would suppose he had himself seen or heard these things in the East. This I have observed in many evident mistakes, especially of a geographical kind; I could not well credit some things, and soon perceived that he had never been upon the ground. . . . With all these faults, Pococke is a very important writer."

"Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie, par Frederic Louis Nordon: ouvrage enrichi de cartes et de figures dessinées sur les lieux." Copenhagen, 1752 and 1755, in two volumes large folio. The author, a native of Holstein, Marine officer in the Danish service, made the journey which is described in this splendidly executed work, by order of Christian VI. King of Denmark, in the years 1737 and 1738. Some London booksellers purchased the copper-plates, and had the work translated into English. This translation appeared in London with Templeman's notes, in 1757, in two folio volumes. At the same time a cheap English edition was published, and from this was made the German translation of *Steffens*, which came out in 1779, at Leipzig and Breslau, in octavo, with a chart of the Nile and several copper-plates. An edition enriched with remarks and illustrations from Arabic works which had just then been printed, in which likewise the Ara-

bie names are corrected, was produced by the care of *Louis Langlés*, at Paris, 1795, in three quarto volumes, with all the maps and plates of the original, yet upon a smaller scale. The annotations and illustrations of the Editor, among which is a learned treatise upon the Pyramids, form more than one half of the third volume, (pp. 157—351). A complete Index enhances the value of this edition.

“The travels of Jonas Korte, formerly Bookseller at Altona, in the land once renowned but now for seventeen hundred years lying under the curse, also in Egypt, Mount Lebanon, Syria, and Mesopotamia, described accurately by himself;” Altona, 1741, in octavo. A Supplement published in 1742, is in the second edition of 1743, incorporated with the work, and the further additions printed as a second Supplement. A third enlarged edition appeared at Halle in 1751, in 8vo, with a third and fourth supplement. An abridgment is contained in Paulus’s *Sammlung*, P. II. p. 33, &c. Korte travelled over Palestine in the years 1737 and 1738. Although he was without a literary education, yet his book contains, as Paulus remarks truly, in the advertisement prefixed to his abridgment, very many correct and satisfactory observations. “A fanatical spirit of devotion fastened the attention of Korte much more steadfastly on certain objects than would have been the case with other travellers who had different views and partialities. But even this fanaticism gave occasion for many casual reflections, half-learned explanations of the Bible, moralizing remarks, and well intended expressions of feeling.” A principal merit of this journey is the discovery that the so called Mount Calvary in Jerusalem cannot be the true Golgotha. Paulus has given, in the preface to the fourth volume of his *Collection*, an account of Korte’s life, derived from manuscript communications.

“The natural history of Aleppo and parts adjacent, containing a description of the city and the principal natural productions in its neighbourhood, together with an account of the climate, inhabitants and diseases, particularly of the plague, with the methods used by the Europeans for their preservation. By Alexander Russell. M. D. London, 1756,” in large quarto, with copper-plates. A second edition, much enlarged and improved from the papers left by the author, was prepared by his nephew *Patrick Russell*, and appeared at London in 1796, in two vols. 4to with plates. In German this second edition was presented with the title, “*Naturgeschichte von Aleppo u. s. w. von J. F. Gmelin, Professor der Naturgeschichte zu Göttingen, übersetzt, und mit dessen Anmerkungen versehen,*” Göttingen, 1797 and 1798, in two octavo volumes. The second and third divisions of the second volume had their own peculiar titles; the second had the following: “Alexander Russell’s description of the animals and productions of Aleppo, together with meteorological observations, which have been made during a long course of years,” &c.

The title of the third division is this: “Alexander Russell’s account of the state of learning, principally of medical science, at Aleppo, of the most celebrated ancient Arabian physicians and their writings, of the diseases prevalent at Aleppo, and particularly of the Plague,” &c. Russell lived eleven years (from 1742 to 1753) at Aleppo, as physician of the British factory. An extensive medical practice among people of all ranks and conditions, placed him in a situation favourable for acquiring a knowledge of the customs and manners of the inhabitants of Aleppo, and with the physical condition of that city and its environs. The result of these observations he

has given in the work of which we have quoted the title above. It belongs to the classical works upon Syria, and contains much that is valuable for the Biblical antiquarian. The Editor, who likewise lived some years at Aleppo as Physician, has appended useful annotations, in which he appears as an Arabic scholar.

“Frederic Hasselquist’s *Iter Palaestinum*,” &c. appeared in the Swedish language at Stockholm, in the year 1757; it was translated into German by *Thomas Henry Gadebusch*, with the following title: “Dr. Friedrich Hasselquist’s, der Academie der Wissenschaften zu Stockholm und Upsala Mitglieds, Reise noch Palästina in den Jahren von 1749 bis 1752. Aus Befehl Ihro Majestät der Königin von Schweden herausgegeben von Carl Linnæus, Rostock:” 1762, 8vo. The author died at Smyrna on his return in Feb. 1752. From his papers his instructor *Linnaeus* published this book of travels, which extend not only to Palestine, but also to Egypt, and are reckoned among the most important writings upon these Countries. The first half contains the Journal, together with letters to Linnaeus; the other, which is principally in Latin, an account of the most remarkable natural objects of those countries, of the three kingdoms of nature after the Linnæan method. There are also appended miscellaneous remarks relative to medical knowledge, and trade.

The Leadings of Providence on a Journey through Europe, Asia, and Africa, the first (to the fifth) part. Described from personal experience.—Given to the public by earnest request: by M. Stephanus Schulz, for twenty years member of the *Institutum Judaicum*, at present Preacher in St. Ulrich church Halle, and director of the above-named Institution, Halle, 1771—1775.

To our subject only the last two volumes belong, containing an account of the Author’s travels through a part

of Asia, Egypt, and Syria, in the years from 1752 to 1756 ; of which Paulus has given a continuous abstract in the sixth and seventh volumes of his Collection of remarkable travels in the East. This work contains a Journal in which are found all that the author said, heard, and saw, of himself and others, true and false, prayers, sermons, extracts, and a great mass of anecdotes. Among many useless things we still find somewhat which other travellers have not observed, or at least not reported, and which should not be neglected by the Biblical Archæologist. These observations are fully confirmed by Michaelis in his ample review of the last two parts of this work ; *Orient. & Exeget. Biblioth.* Vol. VIII. p. 124. Vol. X. p. 59, &c.

“ A Voyage from England to India in the year 1754. Also a Journey from Persia to England by an unusual route. By Edward Ives, Esqr. formerly Surgeon of Admiral Watson’s Ship, and of his Majesty’s Hospital in the East Indies.” London 1773, in quarto, with maps and plates. A German translation by *L. W. Dohm* appeared at Leipsig in 1774, in two vols. octavo. For the object which we have in view, that part of the work is serviceable which contains the description of the Author’s travels from Bassora on the Euphrates to Hilla, and thence by land to Bagdad, thence chiefly on the further side of the Tigris to Mosul, along the Kurdish chain of mountains to Nesibis, Diarbekir, &c. Compare *J. D. Michaelis, Or. Bib.* X. 116.

“ Viaggi per l’Isola di Cipro e per la Soria e Palestina, fatti di Giovanni Mariti, Fiorentino, dall’ anno 1760 al 1768,” Lucca and Florence. 1769 to 1771, in five 8vo volumes. An abridgment of this book, which together with much which is superfluous and already known, contains also many things new, and good accounts of the manners, customs, and natural objects, and accurate de-

scriptions of the countries and towns visited by the author, appeared under the following title: "Johann Mariti ('s), Mitglieds der Hetruskischen Academie, Reise durch die Insel Cypern, durch Syrien und durch Palästina in den Jahren 1760 bis 1768, in einem Auszuge aus dem Italiärischen übersetzt von M. Christ. Heinr. Hase, Consistorialrath und Pastor zu Stadt-Sulza, Altenburg, 1777 :'' in octavo.

"Account of Morocco and Fez, obtained in the countries themselves, in the years from 1760 until 1768, by George Höst." Translated from the Danish, Copenhagen, 1781, quarto, with maps and plates. The author during the years mentioned in the title, resided at Morocco, first in the service of the Danish African Company, and afterwards as Danish Vice-consul, and furnishes observations upon the manners, usages, public and private affairs, which may be useful in the interpretation of Scripture. Much of this kind is selected by J. D. Michaelis, in the *Orient. Biblioth.* P. XIX. p. 53, &c.

"Description of Arabia: from observations and intelligence collected in the country itself, by Carsten Niebuhr, Copenhagen, 1772," in quarto, with plates and maps. — "Travels of Carsten Niebuhr in Arabia and other adjacent countries," Vol. I. Copenhagen 1774; Vol. II. 1778, in quarto, with maps and numerous plates. — "Descriptiones animalium, avium, amphibiorum, piscium, insectorum, vermium, quae in itinere Orientali observavit Petrus Forskäl, Prof. Havn. Post mortem Auctoris edidit Carsten Niebuhr. Adjuncta est Materia Medica Kahirina atque Tabula Maris Rubri geographica." Copenh. 4to 1775. — "Flora Aegyptiaco-Arabica, sive Descriptiones plantarum, quas per Aegyptum inferiorem et Arabiam felicem detexit, illustravit Petrus Forskäl, &c. Accedit Tabula Arabiae felicis geographico-botanica." Copenh. 4to 1775. These works are the fruit of a journey

which a company of learned men undertook in the year 1761, at the instance of that benefactor of science, J. D. Michaelis, and by order and at the expense of Frederick V. and his successor Christian VI. of Denmark ; their object being solely to extend the knowledge of the East, principally with reference to the elucidation of the Bible, and the sciences connected with it. The company consisted of four men of science, viz. Prof. *von Haven* for languages, Prof. *Forškål* for natural history, Lieut. Engineer *Niebuhr* for geography and astronomy, Dr. *Cramer* for medicine and surgery, and *Baurenfeind* a painter. Of these *Niebuhr* alone returned to his native land ; the others died, some in Arabia, and others on the return over India. The instructions which these travellers received from their government, and the specification of subjects which they were to investigate, are contained in "J. D. Michaelis's Questions to a company of learned men," &c., Frankfort on Mayn, 1762, 8vo, a book which to the Biblical scholar is still valuable, as while it informs the travellers of those things which are already known, it gives learned information concerning them. Although in consequence of the death of *Niebuhr*'s companions, the accomplishment of the extensive plan of this Journey was frustrated, yet its results are important to Science. We have to thank the solitary *Niebuhr*, who, not only in the department assigned to him, but in those out of his line, has accomplished all which could justly be demanded. He has also made use of the remaining papers of his deceased fellow-travellers to the greatest profit and advantage. The works by him completed, and whose titles are given above, have a worth long since acknowledged and established. V. Michaelis's *Or. Bibl.* Vol. IV. p. 64. Vol. VII. p. 1, &c. Vol. XIII. p. 18.

" Travels to discover the Source of the Nile in the

years 1768, 69, 70, 71, 72 and 73, in five volumes. By James Bruce of Kinnard, Esq. F.R.S. Edinburgh and London, 1790." Large quarto, with maps and plates. A German translation by *J. J. Volkmann*, with a preface and notes by *John Frederick Blumenbach*, under the title "Reisen zur Entdeckung der Quellen des Nils, u. s. w." appeared at Leipsig, 1790, in five octavo volumes, with maps and plates similar to the original. In addition to the excellent remarks of Blumenbach, principally upon natural history and the human race, which are printed together at the end of the fifth volume, it also contains the valuable notes of *Thom. Chr. Tyshcen*, historical, antiquarian, and philological. Partial republications of Bruce's works have been made both in England and Germany. The English by *Samuel Shaw* appeared in London, in an octavo volume, 1790. In German three have been published; the first with the necessary abridgment translated by *E. W. Cuhn*, with notes by *J. F. Gmelin*, Rinteln and Leipsick 1791, in two vols. 8vo, forming the second and third volumes of Cuhn's Collection of remarkable travels into the interior of Africa. Of the three other abridgments, that of *J. G. C. Fick* was printed at Erlangen, 1792, in two octavo volumes, as the fifth and sixth volumes of a new collection of true and remarkable adventures of travellers, &c.; the other, under the title "Short description of Abyssinia and its present inhabitants," a historical and geographical abridgment of J. Bruce's travels, &c. by *Gotil. Fred. Ehrmann*, Nuremberg and Jena, 1792, in one octavo, forming the eighteenth volume of Ehrmann's Library of travels.—Bruce's work contains a mass of valuable information upon Geography and Natural History, and upon people and manners. The author travelled after the necessary preparation, observed much and with care, and remained long enough

among the Arabs and Abyssinians, to acquire their languages, at least sufficiently for intercourse. In the investigations embodied in the work of points in ancient history, the author appears to be a man of knowledge and acuteness in combination, but his science is not sufficiently refined and guarded by correct interpretation and historical criticism. Many of his historical investigations are examined and corrected in the remarks of Tychsen, in the fifth volume of Volkinann's translation.

“A series of Adventures in the course of a Voyage up the Red-Sea on the coasts of Arabia and Egypt, and of a route through the Deserts of Thebais, hitherto unknown to the European traveller, in the year 1777, in letters to a lady by Eyles Irwin, Esqr. in the service of the hon. East India Company; illustrated with maps and cuts.” London, 1781, large quarto. A second edition appeared in the same year, and a German translation, entitled “Eyles Irwin's Begebenheiten einer Reise auf dem Rothen Meere, u. s. w.” at Leipsick, 1718, in 8vo. This book of travels not only affords entertainment to the reader, but contains much information never before made public, concerning the countries which no European had before visited, and the manners of the inhabitants. J. D. Michaelis has extracted much that may be useful in Biblical Archaeology, in the extended review of this book, which may be found in Vol. XVI. of the *Orient. Biblioth.* p. 20, &c. A supplement to this review is given in the beginning of Vol. XX. A third edition of the original, with a description of a journey undertaken by the author in 1780—81, from Venice to Latikia, and thence to the Persian gulph and the East Indies, appeared at London, 1789, in two octavos. A French translation of this third edition was published at Paris 1792, in two octavo volumes; the translator was *Perraud*.

Voyage dans la haute et basse Egypte, fait par ordre de l'ancien gouvernement, et contenant des observations de toutes genres, par C. S. Sonnini, ancien Officier et Ingenieur de la marine Française, et Membre de plusieurs sociétés savantes et literaires. Avec une collection de XL Planches en taille-douce par J. B. Tardieu." Paris, 1799, in three volumes octavo. A German translation by J. A. Bergk, together with an abridgment of *Norry's* Observations upon Egypt, and other appendages, appeared at Leipsick and Gera, 1800, in two octavo volumes, with thirteen copper-plates. Sonnini began his journey in April 1777, and returned in October 1778. His observations are excellent and instructive upon natural history and anthiopoly.

"Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, pendant les années 1783, 1784, and 1785. Avec deux Cartes geographiques et deux planches gravées. Par C. F. (Chasse-Bœuf) Volney," Paris, 1787, in two octavo volumes. The fourth edition, enriched with numerous additions, appeared in 1807 in two volumes. A German translation of the first edition was published at Jena, 1788, in two volumes octavo, with maps and plates; and a third volume, which contained the additions of the second edition followed it in 1790. The author has not presented his observations in the Journal form, but arranged in connected treatises. He is known by means of various other writings as a man of genius and information, and his account of Egypt and Syria is one of the best extant upon these countries. Of this much that serves for the elucidation of Scripture has been pointed out by J. D. Michaelis, in his review of the book in the new *Oriental Biblioth.* Vol. IV. p. 134, &c, and 175, &c.

"Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792—1798; by W. G. Browne." London, 1799, in quarto, with maps and plates. A German translation (by

J. A. Bergk) with annotations of the translator, appeared at Leipsick and Gera, in 1800, with maps and plates after the original. The delineations of the manners and mode of life of the countries visited by the author, and their natural curiosities are principally important to the biblical Archaeologist.

“Voyage dans l’Empire Othoman, l’Egypte et la Perse, fait par ordre du Gouvernement, pendant les six premières années de la République ; par G. H. Olivier, Membre de l’Institut national, etc. avec Atlas.” Paris, 1800—1807, in six volumes octavo. The first two volumes are translated into German, in the sixth volume of the *Bibliothek* of Sprengel and Ehrmann ; the third and fourth, in the twenty-first ; and the fifth and sixth in the thirty-sixth volume. Between April 1793, and the close of 1798, the author travelled through Turkey in Asia, Persia, Egypt, and the Greek islands. His accounts are comprehensive, and bear the stamp of truth and credibility.

The conquest of Egypt by a French army under the command of *Napoleon Bonaparte* in July 1798, gave rise to the most lively hopes for the cause of Science. In the train of this army was a band of respectable men of science, whose object it was to establish in Cairo, the capital of Egypt, an Institute for Arts and Sciences, which should observe the arrangements of European Academies. Unhappily this was of brief duration ; for as early as 1800 the French were under the necessity of evacuating Egypt. The gain however which the sciences received even from this short residence of the French *savans* in that country was not trifling. It was made the first duty of the members of the Institute, to acquire the most exact knowledge of the country in every particular. Under the protection of their soldiers’ arms they were

able to extend their investigations farther, and conduct them with more care and accuracy, than was possible for the insulated individuals who had preceded them. After their return the government ordered that all writings, maps, designs, and in general all remarks upon the subject of the arts and sciences, which had been made during the occupation of Egypt by the French army, should be collected into a single work, which might present a description and representation as near perfection as possible, of ancient as well as modern Egypt, its monuments, products, inhabitants, and condition in general. A commission was named, the members of which were *Berthollet*, *Conté*, *Costaz*, *Desgenettes*, *Fourier*, *Girard*, *Laurent* and *Monge*. In the place of *Conté* and *Laurent*, who died during the progress of the work, were appointed *Jomard* and *Jollois*, to whom were afterwards added *Delille* and *Devillieres*. The numerous labourers resigned their treatises to the Commission, who investigated and corrected them, and judged of the propriety of admitting them.

The work was printed in nine volumes, three-fold folio, with eight hundred and ninety copper-plates. The Text is divided into three principal heads: the Antiquities, the present condition, and the Natural History of Egypt; but with reference to the form, into the "Explications des planches," the "Descriptions," and the "Memoires." The plates were so distributed that to the Antiquities belong 450, in five volumes, to the present condition 170 in two volumes, and to the natural history 250 in two volumes. The Geographical Atlas with fifty maps followed the whole. After long and elaborate preparation it was published under the title "Description de l'Egypte, ou Recueil des Observations et des Recherches, qui ont été faites en Egypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée Française, publié par les ordres de sa Majesté l'Empereur Napoleon

le Grand;" in the years 1809 and 1810: the three first specimens of a work unique of its kind, and executed with a typographical magnificence as yet unwitnessed, and decorated with plates for surpassing in greatness of design and perfect completion all that the engravers of France or England had hitherto produced. The fall of the Imperial throne did not impede the prosecution of this work, which was happily completed at the expense of the present French government. But the extraordinary price of this colossal production, amounting to the sum of a thousand dollars, made it almost inaccessible to the learned, and permitted but few even of the public libraries to obtain it. It was therefore a laudable enterprize of *Panchoucke*, a Parisian bookseller and printer, to set on foot an edition of such price as to be within the reach of more public libraries, and individuals of good circumstances. Since the year 1821 this edition has appeared in successive parts, the text in a convenient octavo form, and the designs from the original plates.

Among the antiquities there are represented with the greatest accuracy, by engravings, sculptures of extraordinary richness, which are preserved upon certain monuments of the greatest antiquity with their lively colours, for the most part still unimpaired. Some of the learned men and artists who accompanied the French expedition, have published in private works very valuable treatises upon ancient and modern Egypt; among which *Denon's "Voyage en Egypte,"* Paris, 1800, large folio, (German, by *Tiedemann*, Berlin, 1803, in octavo) and the "*Memoires sur l'Egypte*," in four volumes 8vo, are the most comprehensive and interesting.

"Travels in various countries of Europe, Asia and Africa." By E. D. Clarke, L. L. D. London, 1811, in five volumes quarto. The fourth edition. in eight octavo

volumes, appeared in London, 1816—18. The author travelled over Egypt, Palestine, and Greece, in the years 1800, 1801, and 1802. He directed his attention chiefly to ancient monuments and inscriptions, but observed with care the manners and customs of the Orientals.

In the year 1803, the Imperial Russian College-assessor *Ulrich Jacob Seezen*, a native of Jener, undertook a journey into the East with the intention of visiting the parts of Syria, Arabia, and particularly the interior of Africa, which are little known. This traveller, whose knowledge, zeal, and spirit justified an expectation of uncommon results for the sciences, was unhappily prevented from accomplishing more than a part of his enterprize : for in September 1811, near Taäs in Yemen, on his way to Sanaa, he was murdered by the Arabs, whose rapacity was aroused by the quantity of baggage which he carried with him. An account of his journey in 1805 and 1806 in the countries lying east of the Jordan and the Red Sea, not very extensive and yet satisfactory, was by him sent to the Astronomer *Von Zach*, at that time of the Observatory of Seeburg near Gotha, and this the latter published in the 18th vol. of the *Monthly Correspondence*, of which he was Editor, Gotha, 1808. In the nineteenth volume of the same work may be found letters of *Seezen*, which give accounts of his travels in Arabia, and also a treatise upon *Ophir*.

“Itinéraire de Paris a Jerusalem et de Jerusalem a Paris, allant par la Grèce, et revenant par l’Egypte, la Barbarie et l’Espagne, par F. A. de Chateaubriand,” Paris, 1811, in three octavo volumes. German by *Müller and Lindau*, Leipsick, 1812, in three octavo volumes. The author commenced his journey in July 1806, and returned as soon as May 1807. The lively and brilliant style of the Viscount de Chateaubriand has obtained many read-

ers for his travels, as well as his earlier productions. In solid and new information, however, this work is meagre, and much richer in declamations, for which the author had frequent occasions given him by events which once occurred upon the spots which he visited.

“*Les Bédouins, ou Arabes du Desert. Ouvrage publié d’après les notes inédites de Dom Raphaël, sur les mœurs, usages, lois, coutumes civiles et religieuses, de ce peuple. Par F. J. Mayeux, et orné de 24 figures dessinées par F. Massard,*” Paris, 1816, three vols. 12mo. That the author of the information contained in these works is an ecclesiastic, appears from the title *Dom*, which is conferred upon him. In the preface of the Editor, it is said that Dom Raphael had brought with him to France the remarks which he had made upon Egypt, his native country, upon Syria, where he lived a long time, and upon the Arabs, whom he had observed partly in the desert, and partly in the vicinity of towns. His intention was from time to time to make known the accounts of his travels ; this he has been by circumstances prevented from doing in full ; and from his delineations of the Bedouin Arabs the reader is led to regret that the author has not been able wholly to accomplish his design. In truth, the information here given of the inhabitants of the Arabian desert is very complete, has the impress of truth, and deserves to be ranked with the travels of Arvieux already noticed. In the first volume the Bedouin tribes who wander over Egypt and Syria are described individually, with their circles, strength, and characteristics ; the second and third volumes contain a delineation of the manners, customs, and constitution which they have in common, arranged under heads.

“*A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, during the years 1808 and 1809, by James Morier, Esq. With two maps and engravings*

from the designs of the Author," London, 1811, large quarto.—"A second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, between the years 1810 and 1816. With a Journal of the Voyage by the Brazils and Bombay to the Persian Gulf. Together with an Account of the proceedings of His Majesty's embassy under his Excellency Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart. By James Morier, Esqr, late his Majesty's Secretary of Embassy and Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of Persia. With two maps, and engravings, from the designs of the Author," London, 1818, large quarto. A French translation of the first Journey appeared at Paris in 1813, in three volumes octavo, with the maps and engravings of the original, and some additions; viz. *Beauchamp's* "Memoire géographique et historique du voyage de Constantinople à Trebizonde," a translation of *Edward Scott Waring's* tour from India to Shiraz, and an anonymous account never before printed of a Journey from Constantinople to Téheran in the year 1805. *Morier's* Travels are among the best works of the kind. In the second he has a constant reference to the elucidation of Scripture passages, which receive much light from Oriental manners and customs.

"Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia. A work wherein the author has described, as far as his own observations extended, the state of those countries in 1810, 1811, and 1812; and has endeavoured to illustrate many subjects of antiquarian research. History, Geography, Philology, and miscellaneous Literature, with extracts from rare and valuable Oriental Manuscripts. By Sir William Ouseley, Knight, L. L. D. private secretary to his Excellency Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart. His Majesty's Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the Court of Persia." Vol. I. London, 1819, Vol. II. 1821, in 4to. with maps, and 55 engravings.

This work, of which the conclusion forms a third volume, is principally valuable to the student of Oriental Antiquities, on account of its antiquarian researches instituted upon the very places, which touch upon many points of biblical archaeology, and on account of its extracts from Arabic and Persian manuscripts.

“Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, by the late John Lewis Burckhardt. Published by the Association for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa,” London 1822, 4to. The author, a Swiss by birth, visited Syria in the year 1809, to prepare himself for a journey which he contemplated to take under the direction and at the expense of the African Association of London. During a residence of two years and a half in Syria, he travelled through the northern, and especially the eastern parts of that country, which last are little known, in various directions. The work of which we have given the title, contains the Journal of five Journeys, which Burckhardt made in the countries above-named in the years 1810 and 1812, and likewise the account of a Journey in 1816 from Cairo into the peninsula of Mount Sinai. These Journals contain a mine of valuable information concerning countries which deserve in the highest degree the attention of Geographers and Antiquarians.

A review of the contents of these journals may be found in the Leipsick “*Literat. Zeitung*” for Sept. 21. 1822 : No. 218. Burckhardt died in October 1817 at Cairo in the thirty-third year of his age. Shortly before his death he committed the whole of his papers to the English Consul *Salt*, who sent them to the directors of the African Association, whose Secretary, *Leake*, published the Journals above-mentioned, as he had previously been Editor of his Travels in Nubia in the years 1812—

1814. (Travels in Nubia, by the late J. L. Burckhardt. London, 1819, 4to).

"Adventures of a Swiss, during his travels to Jerusalem and Lebanon. Described by himself," St. Gallen, 1815, three small octavo volumes: second edition 1821, in one volume. The author, *John Henry Mayr*, merchant at Arbon and Bodensee, undertook his journey in 1812, for mercantile purposes, and returned to his native country in the beginning of 1814. Although he did not travel as a learned man, yet this very circumstance, as the Editor, the Rev. Mr. Appenzeller, justly remarks, gives to his accounts a peculiar charm. "For the very circumstance that the author neither looked through the glasses of the learned, nor coloured what he saw with deep, scientific, multifarious knowledge, nor travelled with preconceived notions, views, prejudices and opinions, causes these travels to be so much the more true and impartial." Indeed, these travels afford a piece of reading as entertaining as they are instructive; while the author, by his simple narration, which is by no means deficient in vivacity of description, sets before the eyes of the reader the peculiarities of the countries which he visited.

"Letters from Palestine, descriptive of a tour through Galilee and Judea, with some account of the Dead Sea and the present state of Jerusalem, by T. R. Joliffe," London, 1819, octavo; German under the title "*T. R. Joliffe's Reise in Palästina, Syrien und Aegypten in Jahre 1817. Mit vielen Zusätzen aus neuen ausländischen Reisebeschreibungen übersetzt. Zum Behufe für Bibel-leser. Nebst einer Vorrede von Dr. E. F. K. Rosenmüller. Mit einer Abbildung der Ausschrift auf der Pompeius-säule, Leipzig 1821,*" 8vo. The additions and remarks of the translator *Dr. Bergck* give this book a preference over the original. In this work may be found

accounts of several travellers who shortly before and after Joliffe visited Palestine, introduced at the proper places ; so that the reader has here at one view the most important information of the latest times upon this interesting country, and can conveniently compare the several accounts.

“ Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia, &c. &c, during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820. By Sir Robert Ker Porter. With numerous engravings of Portraits, Costumes, Antiquities,” &c. In two volumes, London, 1821 and 1822, in two volumes, large quarto ; a work which is highly important to the Antiquarian in reference to the knowledge of countries and men, and which has peculiar value on account of exact designs of ancient monuments made by the author himself.

“ Voyage dans le Levant en 1817 et 1818, par Mr. le Comte de Forbin,” Paris, 1819, in folio, with 78 engravings by the most distinguished living French artists, and numerous plans. The work has more value as a specimen of art than of Science. A reprint of the text in one octavo volume, together with a plan of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, appeared likewise in 1819.

“ Travels in the region between Alexandria and Paracetonium, the Libyan Desert, Siwa Egypt, Palestine and Syria, in the years 1820 and 1821, by Dr. John Martin Augustin Scholz, Professor of Theology at the University of Bonn.” Leipsiek, 1822, 8vo. This account given by a learned German Theologian of his travels in countries rendered familiar to him by his studies, derives from the person of its author a peculiar interest, which is increased by the present work, containing as it does the latest information respecting the countries mentioned in the title.

The following Collections contain information extracted from Books of Travels, for the elucidation of the Bible, and Biblical Archaeology : "Biblical Illustrations from Oriental and other Travels, by Frederick Matthew Luft," Nuremberg, 1735, 8vo.—"Illustrations of holy writ, from Oriental Travels, compiled by Balthazar Lewis Estuche, Instructor of the High School, and preacher to the Reformed congregation at Rinteln : " Lemgo, 1745—1755 ; twenty-five essays in two volumes octavo.—" Authentic accounts of the Agriculture of the East, for the illustration of certain passages of Scripture, collected out of travels in the East, with a preface by Chancellor Von Mosheim, edited by Herman Christian Paulsen, Preacher in Crempe ; " Helmstädt, 1748, in quarto. "the Government of the East according to the exhibitions of travels in the East, for the illustration of certain passages of Scripture, compiled by Herm. Christian Paulsen. First Part," (the second was never published), 1755, in quarto. " Observations on divers passages of Scripture, placing many of them in a light altogether new ; ascertaining the meaning of several not determinable by the methods commonly made use of by the learned ; proposing to consideration probable conjectures on others, different from what have been hitherto recommended to the attention of the curious, and more amply illustrating the rest than has yet been done by means of circumstances incidentally mentioned in books of Voyages and Travels in the East," London, 1764, in one volume octavo. A second edition appeared at London, 1776, in two octavo volumes, in addition to which a third and fourth volume were published in 1787. The first edition of this work, which is by Thomas Harmer, Dissenting Preacher at Watesfield, appeared in German, with the title : "Beobachtungen über den Orient aus

Reisebeschreibungen, zur Aufklärung der heiligen Schrift. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Joh. Ernst Faber," Hamburg, 1772 and 1775, in two volumes octavo. The Supplements to the second edition (translated by Wolfg. Panzer) formed a third volume : Hamb. 1779.—" Oriental Customs : or an Illustration of the Sacred Scriptures by an explanatory application of the customs and manners of the eastern nations, and especially of the Jews therein alluded to. Collected from the most celebrated travellers and most eminent critics. By the Rev. Sam. Burder, A. M. etc. Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, London, 1802, in one vol. oct. The fifth edition, considerably enlarged, was published in two vols. oct. in 1816. It was translated into German, together with Ward's Illustrations of the Scriptures, from the manners and customs of the Hindoos, by C. F. K. Rosenmüller, Leipsick, 1818—20, in six vols. octavo.

ON THE
SONG OF SOLOMON,
FROM DER EVANGELISCHEN KIRCHEN ZEITUNG.

TRANSLATED BY
MR. REZEAU BROWN.

THE SONG OF SOLOMON.

THERE is scarcely a book in the Bible, which has been so variously interpreted as the Song of Solomon. The different interpretations may be divided into three classes. One of these explains the whole book, from the relation of God to the Jewish nation, and finds in every figure a reference to some particular event in their history. According to them, the whole is an allegorical and figurative narration of the government of God over the Jews. This mode of interpretation we meet with among the Jews, almost as soon as we find the book mentioned. Jesus, the son of Sirach, who lived about 200 years before Christ, seems to have explained it thus. In the Book of Wisdom, chap. 47, v. 13—17, he praises Solomon on account of his composition of dark parables. This cannot be referred to the Proverbs, for these are separately mentioned. Another common method of interpretation, and one which has been received in all ages by the Christian Church, is, that Christ is the subject of the Song of Solomon. This general opinion has two varieties: Christ is generally admitted to be represented by the “*Lover*,” while the “*Beloved*” is made to refer to either the Church of the New Testament, taken as a body, or to each individual Christian soul. Some have endeavoured to unite both these. A third class, finally, supports the opinion, that mere human love is the subject of the Poem. This interpretation was very little received, until the latter half of the eighteenth century. From that time forward, it became quite general, and was defended under various

modifications. Some sought to maintain the honour of the Book, by supposing it a description of a happy marriage, or a defence of monogamy ; others asserted its claim to a place among the sacred writings, on the ground of its being a description of a chaste affection, while others found passages in it which were grossly immoral. The one placed this, the other that historical fact in connection, in order to explain the Book ; and when this did not suffice, they had recourse to dreams ! One interpreted it as a collection of unconnected songs ; another sought to discover a plan which pervaded the whole. The charge of *arbitrary interpretation*, which this third class make against their opponents, appealing, as a proof, to their differences from one another, applies in its fullest force to themselves ; for no two of them coincide in their views on this subject.

The first two classes unite in the opinion, that in the Song of Solomon, spiritual relations are represented under sensible figures, and are, as defenders of a spiritual or allegorical interpretation, together opposed to those who interpret it literally. The arguments which have been used, with some correctness, against the *allegorical* method of interpretation, cannot be made successfully against a *spiritual* ; for we must be careful to distinguish writings which the author wished to be understood historically, from those in which it is his intention to exhibit spiritual relations under the figure of sensible. In the former case, an allegorical explanation does not deserve the name of an *interpretation*. If the latter design be made apparent, the allegorical interpretation is accordant with the purpose of the author, and is, therefore, the only correct one.

In attempting then, to establish the correctness of such an exposition of the Song of Solomon, we must, I. Show

that it is not unworthy the Divine Being, and not inconsistent with the genius of the Sacred writings, to present a spiritual relation under such figures. In this way we shall prove that a spiritual interpretation is possible ; and in order to show that it must here be adopted, we will, 2. Give the reasons which authorize us to conclude, that in this book, the figures used are appropriate only to the purpose of making such relations manifest.

We come now to the consideration of the first point. The Christian, in determining what is consistent with the divine character, does not follow mere abstract philosophical speculations, but considers those things which the Living God, who reveals himself historically, has said and done. Now, he has not, in his revelation, kept in view so much his own nature, as the wants of fallen man. In order to elevate men to himself, he has veiled his eternal majesty, and condescended to them. Since man can only understand and love what is kindred with his own nature, the Godhead appears to him as righteous and good, as full of wrath, and full of mercy. And to present these various attributes in such a manner, that men might be feelingly sensible of them, when he spoke to them by his Son, by his prophets, and servants, he used such figures as were taken from their situation and relations. Thus, he calls himself a Father, and a Shepherd, in order to show the tenderness of his love to them. He represents it under the figure of *marriage love*. He speaks of longing, of distress on account of their faithlessness, and of jealousy. We can best judge of the propriety of the strongly figurative language of Solomon's Song, when we have shown that in various passages of both the old and new Testament, where any other interpretation is impossible, (which is not the case here,) the representation of the relations

of God or Christ to his people, under these same figures, is not uncommon.

In many passages of the Old Testament, the relation of God to the Israelites is presented under figures taken from that of a lover to the object of his affection. On leaving Egypt, Israel is found in the condition of a betrothed maiden : they are married to Jehovah, when at Sinai they enter into a covenant with him : every subsequent apostacy is represented as adultery, and every return as the renewed reception of one who had been divorced. The following passages deserve attention here. Isaiah (chap. 54, 5,) speaks thus : "For thy Maker is thy Husband, the Lord of Hosts is his name, thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel, the God of the whole earth shall he be called." Also, (62, 5,) "For, as a young man marries a wife, so shall thy Creator marry thee." And, (50, 1,) the decree of rejection which God had declared against Israel, is called a writing of divorcement. Jeremiah, chap. 3, 1, uses the same comparison ; and Hosea employs the whole former part of his prophecy in carrying out these representations. The Jews are there exhibited under the figure of a woman who has been unfaithful to her lawful husband, and has fixed her affection on another ; on which account her husband has rejected her, but afterwards forgives the offence, and reinstates her in his favour. Ezekiel has made use of this comparison with the greatest boldness, in two descriptions, (chap. 16 and 23,) in which the chaste will find nothing to offend, but which, to the licentious, may be cause of offence. But the Jehovah, who, under the Old Testament economy, loved his people so tenderly, is none other than the Lord Jesus Christ, who, in the New, shed his blood for them ; and since no other figure seems more appropriate to represent the love of God to his children than that

of conjugal affection, we have reason to expect that the same figure will be found in the New Testament; and in this expectation we are not disappointed. John the Baptist calls himself the friend of the bridegroom, (John, 3, 29,) and refers to Christ as the bridegroom, who will conduct home the bride. Our Lord calls himself the bridegroom, (Matt. 9, 15.) Paul speaks of marriage as representing the connection of Christ with believers, Rom. 7, Eph. 5, and in 2 Corinth., chap. 1, he compares the Church, when it is purified through the blood of Christ, and sanctified through his spirit, to a Bride without spot or wrinkle. We see now, why this figure is so appropriate to represent the relation of Christ or God to his church. As the husband, in marriage, is connected to the wife by the ties of love and faithfulness, so God has entered into the same with his people; as the most sincere affection exists between the man and wife, so the most tender ties unite God's people to him; as the woman is subject to the man, and he, in return, affords her protection, so God is, with his gracious assistance, ever nigh those who distrust their own strength, and seek protection and help from him. As activity is the part of the man, and as, from her character, the woman has a right to receive protection and support, so, in relation to God, all are recipients. As the woman must leave father and mother, and must depend entirely upon her husband, so, every one who would belong to Christ, must break through the dearest ties which bind them to the world. They must die to the world, that they may live to Christ.

It remains for us now to show that, in the Song of Solomon, under such figures, this spiritual relation is delineated; and that, consequently, the allegorical interpretation of the same is the only correct one. There is one important external argument for this. It is taken from tra-

dition, which, among a people who believed so firmly its authority as the Jews, is not to be disregarded, though its voice may not be altogether decisive. Now, the Jewish literati, so far as we are acquainted with their writings, with great unanimity explain this Book allegorically. They themselves appeal to a tradition, of which the old Chaldaic translator is the principal witness. But we can trace this interpretation even farther. There can be no doubt that those who made the collection of the books of the Old Testament, explained it thus. Even a slight inspection of these writings will teach any one, that it was not their object to collect all the remains of the national literature. They had constantly in view, the displaying of the divine government, and they selected for this purpose, every thing that would cast light upon the relation subsisting between God and the Jewish people; that would, as history, prophecy, devotional writings, or doctrinal, tend to enliven their sense of their duty to God and to promote a godly life. When, therefore, they received this book into such a collection, they must have had a strong conviction that it did not celebrate mere human love, but the love of Jehovah to his people. All that recent commentators say in praise of human love, and in proof of the opinion that a book, whose object it was to exalt the same, is worthy of a reception into the Sacred Canon, is nothing to the purpose. The only question here, is, by what principles were they who arranged the sacred writings, governed? and this question is an historical one, and is to be answered from the nature of the books received. If, then, it be proved, that these Collectors interpreted the Song of Solomon allegorically, it would be exceedingly arbitrary to affirm that the true interpretation was lost at that time, when the allegorical had been universally received down previously to that period.

and especially as the time when the book was written was not very distant.

But in addition to this external proof, there is a stronger internal argument, taken from passages in the Poem itself, which impel us to the opinion that, under the figure of human love, a higher affection is represented. We will not, here, urge the consideration, that those who would interpret the Song of Solomon literally, must conjecture a multitude of historical circumstances, in order to give their interpretation even the appearance of probability. It may be replied indeed to this, that this obscurity arises only from ignorance of the place where the lovers dwelt. We will only give a collection of passages which, according to the literal interpretation, are either entirely without meaning, or require an exceedingly forced explanation; but which, *allegorically*, give a sense at once elegant and easy.

It is evident from chap. I, v. 4, that the "Beloved" has a collective signification. "Draw me, says she, and *we* will run after thee. *We* will remember thy love more than wine." It is entirely contrary to oriental customs, and quite unmeaning according to the literal interpretation, when the Beloved says "I am black but lovely. Oh! ye daughters of Jerusalem, look not on me, for I am black: the sun hath looked upon me, and my mother's children were angry with me. They made me keeper of the vineyards, but mine own vineyard have I not kept." But when figuratively interpreted, the sense is beautiful and plain. "Do not despise me, oh! my friends, for though I have, through a sinful desertion of my God, polluted myself and separated myself from him, yet he has not forever cast me off. His love will purify me again from all my sins. My blackness is not natural, and can be removed. I have suffered myself to be seduced

by my neighbours to the service of their gods, and have neglected the keeping of my vineyard." The parables of Isaiah, chap. 5, and our Lord are similar, in which the Jews are represented as the vineyard of the Lord. The passages, chap. 3, 4, and 8, 2, are entirely opposed to the customs of the East, where the women live in the closest seclusion, in which the Beloved is represented as bringing her Beloved into the house and chamber of her mother. And the passage, chap. 5, 3—7, is clearly against all historical probability, according to which she, in order to seek her lover, wanders by night through the city, and is wounded by the watchmen, without there being any conceivable occasion for such conduct. If interpreted figuratively, the sense is elegant. The lover comes to her house—she refuses him admission—her severity relents—she determines to go and seek him—she is wounded by the watchmen—she, however, finds him—he becomes reconciled to her, and sings her praises, chap. 6, 4, &c. Jehovah came to the Israelites with love and favour—they despised him—he takes away his assistance, and suffers them to be oppressed by the surrounding nations—notwithstanding, as soon as they seek him again, he suffers himself to be found. The same things are told here figuratively, which in the historical books and prophets, are matter of history. There are, not unfrequently, figures used in this poem, which would appear ridiculous if applied to any single beloved object; particularly to a country maiden, as some suppose the "Beloved" to have been. Thus, chap. 1, 9, she is compared to the horses in Pharaoh's chariots. It is said of her, chap. 3, 6, "Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like a pillar of smoke?" a figure entirely applicable to the progress of the immense host of Israel through the desert. In like manner, chap. 8, 5, "Who is this coming up from the de-

sert, leaning on her beloved?" Chap. 6, 4. The lover speaks: "Thou art beautiful, my love, as Tirza, (a royal residence,) comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army;" and, 6, 10, 12, compares her with the blushing red of the morning, with the sun, moon, and says again, "thou art terrible as an army with banners." Very appropriate figures to be applied to a country maiden! He invites her, chap. 4, 8, to come with him from Lebanon, from the high Amama, from Senir and Hermon, the dwelling-places of lions and leopards; and also in many other places. In other passages the possibility of a merely literal exposition cannot be denied; yet the allegorical deserves the preference, and in none is there any thing which will forbid it. This will appear manifest on explaining some of the principal passages of the Poem. The Book begins: "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth." This verse, together with the 4th, "Draw me and we will run after thee," is expressive of a strong desire for a reconciliation; for the restoration of the former relation, by which Jehovah manifested his love to his people. "How lovely smell thine ointments," says the Beloved, "thy name is as ointment poured forth, therefore the young women love thee." The Chaldaic translator interprets this correctly: "Thy holy name is heard through all the earth; it is precious as the holy oil with which kings and priests were anointed." "Show me, chap. 1, 7, my love, where thou feedest, for why should I be as one that turneth aside, as a dishonoured maiden by the flocks of thy companions?" Comp. Gen. 38, 14. The sense is: "Tell me, oh! my God, how I may return to Thee, for wherefore should I any longer injure myself by uniting with other people who serve not thee, the true God, but useless idols?" In many places, God is represented as a shepherd, and Israel as his flock. Comp.

Jerem. 23, 3, 4. Ezek. 34, 11. The apostacy of the Israelites is also frequently compared to adultery. The Lover replies in v. 8, "Knowest thou not, oh ! fairest among women, where, &c., follow in the footsteps of my flocks ?" i. e. Wouldst thou know by what means thou mightest be reconciled to me, look at the example of thy pious fathers, and follow in their footsteps. The reunion of God to his people is represented by the reconciliation of lovers, who afterwards express their joy in each other.

The time in which God had withdrawn himself from his people, chap. 2, 11, is presented under the figure of a rainy season, and winter ; the time of his return, by spring.

Here follows in v. 15, an exhortation to drive away the foxes which destroy the vineyard. This means that the people returning to the Lord, should expel the seducers, i. e. the false prophets who would overthrow the government of God. Chap. 3, The Beloved has lost her Lover, but she seeks and finds him. Taking away the figure : The people return unto the Lord, who receives them, and this restoration is represented by a royal festival. Chap. 4, 12, The faithfulness of the people to their God, is *drawn out* under the figure of the chastity of the Beloved. The Lover says, chap. 6, 8, "There are threescore queens and fourscore concubines, but this is the one that I love," which signifies that God had chosen the small and despised nation of the Jews as his own, before all the powerful kingdoms of the earth.

In addition to these, there is a collateral argument for the allegorical interpretation, drawn from the names of the lovers. The Lover is called Solomon, i. e. the Peaceful, the Prince of Peace ; the Beloved, Salamite, the Peaceful or the Happy. This can hardly be a mere ac-

cidental coincidence The Book* takes its name from the spiritual sense : The Song of Songs, i. e. The most sublime song.

It appears, then, from sufficient proof, that the spiritual interpretation of the Song of Solomon is the correct one. The common objection, that those who explain it allegorically differ so much from one another, is not to be charged to the Book itself, but to its interpreters. This difference has arisen from the fact that these persons misapprehending the figurative character of the Old Testament, and destitute of practical feeling, without any fixed principle, have explained every figure as if they had found in it an allusion to some event in history, or to the state of experimental religion among God's people. This mode of interpretation is inconsistent with the character of the Song of Solomon, in which there is so much ornament. We cannot find for every individual figure, a correspondent reality, but we must collect them into one grand picture, and then we may easily discover what is referred to. Thus, in the representation of the beauty and loveliness of the Beloved, we need go no farther for an explanation, than to an expression of the love of God to his people. A comparison of other oriental poets, who in like manner represent the love of God by human affection, would be instructive. If any one will interpret this Poem, upon such principles as we have advanced, he will avoid the arbitrary manner in which both early and late critics have, so improperly, explained it ; and the difference of interpretations, so often urged as an argument against the allegorical method, will disappear entirely.

If, then, the spiritual interpretation of the Song of Solomon be the correct one, it is certainly worthy of a place

* In the German Bible, the name of the Song of Solomon is *The High Song*.

in the Sacred Canon, from which some would, on various accounts, reject it. While, however, some thus seek to degrade this Book, others, in early times, went so far in praise of it, as to place it before every other one in the Old Testament. If this preference be proper, why is it that it is never expressly quoted either by our Saviour or his apostles ? Although we are far from questioning the inspiration of the Song of Solomon, we cannot but rank it beneath the prophetical writings. It may *possibly* appear that the *figurative* is too abundant in this Poem. The Prophets make use of the same comparisons, but the object, to wit, the moral relation of Jehovah to the Jews, is ever obvious ; in the Song of Solomon, the figures may, on the contrary, be too far-fetched for perspicuity.

Finally, it is a disputed point among those who interpret this Book allegorically, whether it is the object, to represent the relation which the Almighty sustained to the Jewish nation, or that of Christ to the whole church, or his relation to every soul. It may be gathered from our defence of the allegorical interpretation, on which side the truth is found. Most of the arguments which favour such an explanation, go to show that the *relation of Jehovah to the Jewish nation* is the subject of the allegory. The question, whether the relation of Christ to his Church is represented, must be answered negatively, if it be asserted that the Poem has no reference whatever to the Old Testament times ; negatively too, when it is taken entirely out of its historical connection, and made to refer *prophetically* to the love of Christ for his New Testament Church. It may, on the other hand, be answered affirmatively, inasmuch as the God, of whose love to his people in the ancient church we have a representation, is the same as Christ who, in all ages, has revealed the glory of the Godhead to men. and who. to lay the foun-

dition of the new covenant, shed his own blood for them. Affirmatively too, inasmuch as the church of the Old and New Testament stands in the same relation to Christ ; and as sin, and grace, backslidings, and returns, the subjects represented by the figurative language of the Song of Solomon, are constantly repeated in both. This Poem may represent the relation of Christ to every Christian, only so far as the history of the Children of Israel is the history of every believing soul. It can *thus* be accommodated to the relation of an individual soul to Christ, and in no other way. Great care is here necessary : a false interpretation of the Song of Solomon may lead to the invention of a mysticism, or may be applied to the adorning of one already existing, which has more affinity with the doctrines of the Persian Soofies than with the gospel ; thus degrading holy things, while it perverts the moral relation of Christ to the soul into something romantic, creating thus a kind of spiritual intoxication, destructive to Christian humility and self-denial. It is *certainly, not without design, that in the Holy Scriptures, the relation of God or Christ to the individual soul, is never represented under the figure of a marriage.* For although the relation to His church and to the individual members may be substantially the same, in the former case, there would be much less room for abuse than in the latter.

HORSLEY'S DISCOURSES

ON

Prophecy.

HORSLEY'S DISCOURSES

ON

PROPHECY.

2 PETER, i. 20.

Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation.

I PROCEED in the task I have undertaken, to exemplify the use of those rules of interpretation which the maxim of my text contains; which are these two,—to refer particular predictions to the system, and to compare prophecies with events. In my last discourse, I showed you with what certainty and facility they lead to the explication of the first prophecy that was ever given—that which was uttered by the voice of God himself, in the form of a curse upon the serpent, the adviser of Adam's disobedience. I shall now try them in an instance of a very different kind, where the occasion of the prediction does not so clearly ascertain its general purport,—where the images employed are less fixed to one constant meaning,—and where, among the events that have happened since the prophecy was given, a variety may be found to correspond with it, all in such exactness, that every one of the number may seem to have a right to pass for the intended completion.

The first prophecy uttered by the voice of God, furnished an example of a prediction in which the general

meaning was from the first certain, and the imagery of the diction simple, and of which the accomplishment hath been single. The earliest prophecy recorded in the sacred volume, of those which were uttered by men, furnishes the example that we now seek, of a prediction originally doubtful in its general meaning, comprehensive in its imagery, various in its completion. Such was the prophecy in which Noah, awakened from his wine, and inflamed with resentment at the irreverent lenity of his younger son, denounced the heavy curse on his posterity, and described the future fortunes of the three general branches of mankind. "Cursed be Canaan ; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. Blessed be Jehovah, God of Shem !—and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be *his* servant."

The only explicit part of this prophecy is the curse upon Canaan, Ham's youngest son ; of whose descendants it is openly foretold that they should live in a state of the lowest subjection to nations which should issue from the two other sons of Noah. And yet here we find some obscurity ; for how was Canaan to be in slavery both to Shem and Japhet ? The evangelic maxim, "that no man can serve two masters," seems applicable here in a literal sense. This difficulty, the apostle's maxim, of applying for the explication of the sacred oracles to the occurrences of the world, readily removes. It appears from sacred history, that so early as in the time of Abraham, the Canaanites were governed by petty princes of their own, who were the tributary vassals of the Assyrian monarchy, then newly arisen under princes of the family of Ashur, Shem's second son. And from profane history we learn, that when the Canaanites fled from the victorious arms of Joshua, and when the remainder of them

were expelled by David, they settled in those parts of Africa which first fell under the dominion of the Romans, the undoubted descendants of Japhet. Thus Canaan in early ages was the slave of Shem, and in later times of Japhet.

But this is neither the most difficult nor the most interesting part of the prophecy. Let us turn our attention to the blessings pronounced upon the two other branches. And we will first consider Japhet's part, because it seems of the two the most explicit. "God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem." The most obvious meaning of the words, I think, is this,—that the gracious purpose of Providence was to bless Japhet with a numerous progeny, which should spread over an ample tract of country ; and that, not satisfied, or not sufficiently accommodated with their own territory, they would be apt to encroach upon Shem's descendants, and make settlements within their borders. And as this is the most obvious sense of the words, so it is justified by the apostle's rules ; for history supports it. The whole of Europe, and a considerable part of Asia, was originally peopled, and hath been ever occupied by Japhet's offspring, who, not contented with these vast demesnes, have been from time to time repeatedly making encroachments on the sons of Shem ; as was notoriously the case, when Alexander the Great, with a European army, attacked and overthrew the Persian Monarchy—when the Romans subjugated a great part of the East,—and still more notoriously, when the Tartar conquerors of the race of Genghis Khan demolished the great empire of the Caliphs, took possession of their country, and made settlements and erected kingdoms in all parts of Asia and the East—and again, when Tamerlane settled his Moguls, another branch of Japhet's progeny, in Indostan. whose descend-

ants gradually got possession of that immense country, a part of Shem's original inheritance, which forms the present empire of the Great Mogul. These events, not to mention other less remarkable incursions of Scythians into Shem's parts of Asia, may well be deemed an accomplishment of the patriarch's prophetic benediction ; not only because they answer to the natural import of the terms of it, but because every one of them had great consequences upon the state of the true religion, and the condition of its professors in various parts of the world, and some of them have been the subjects of later prophecies. So that, in this interpretation, we find the two circumstances which, according to the apostle, are the best characteristics of a true interpretation,—an agreement with the truth of history, and a connection of this particular prediction with the system of the prophetic word.

It may seem, however, that some amicable intercourse between certain branches of the two families—some peaceable settlements of descendants of Japhet in nations arisen from the other stock, may be no less conveniently denoted, by the expression of “Japhet's dwelling in the tents of Shem,” than the violent encroachments of conquerors of the line of Japhet. And this interpretation does not ill agree with history, or, to speak more properly, with the present state of the two families. The settlements of Portuguese, English, Dutch, and French—all of us descended from the loins of Japhet, made within the three last centuries in different parts of India—all of it a part of Shem's inheritance, have given the prophecy in this sense a striking accomplishment. Nor, in this interpretation, is the necessary connection wanting of this particular prediction with the prophetic system ; for consequences cannot but arise, although they

have not yet appeared, of great moment to the interests of the true religion, from such numerous and extensive settlements of professed Christians, in countries where the light of the gospel hath for many ages been extinguished.

Thus you see, history leads us to two senses of this prophecy, of which each may contain an unlimited variety of particular accomplishments ; since every settlement of Europeans or of Asiatic Tartars in the lower Asia and the East, whether gained by war or procured by commercial treaties, connects with the prophecy in one or other of these two senses.

A third sense is yet behind : but, to bring it the more readily to light, it will be proper previously to consider the sense of Shem's blessing,—a blessing obliquely conveyed in this emphatic ejaculation, “Blessed be Jehovah God of Shem !”—an ejaculation in which this assertion is evidently implied, that “Jehovah should be Shem's God ;” and this is the whole of Shem's blessing,—a blessing, indeed, which could receive no addition or improvement. It can admit of no dispute, that Jehovah is here styled the God of Shem, in the same sense in which in later times he vouchsafed to call himself the God of a particular branch of Shem's progeny—of Abraham, Isaac, and of Jacob, and of their descendants the Jewish people. Jehovah is indeed the God of all the nations of the earth—the Universal Father, whose tender mercies are over all his works ; but to a particular branch of Shem's family, he was for a time more peculiarly a God, inasmuch as he chose them to be the depositaries of the true religion, while the rest of mankind were sunk in the ignorance and abomination of Idolatry. Their temporal concerns he condescended to take under the visible direction of his special providence,—to them he revealed

his sacred incommunicable name,—among them he preserved the knowledge and worship of himself, by a series of miraculous dispensations, till the destined season came for the general redemption ; and then he raised up, among the offspring of that chosen stock, that Saviour, whose divine doctrine hath spread the knowledge and worship of the true God among all nations, and whose meritorious sacrifice of himself hath made atonement for the sins of the whole world. These were the privileges in store for a select branch of Shem's family, when this prophecy was delivered,—privileges by which they were put in a condition to attain the highest blessings both in this world and in the next—the height of national prosperity, and the sum of future bliss ; and Shem being yet alive, and his family not split into its branches, it was natural, and agreeable to the usage of the prophetic style, that the future blessings of the offspring should be referred to the ancestor. This, therefore, is the oracular sense of the patriarch's emphatic compellation of Jehovah as the God of Shem. “Thou, O Jehovah ! shalt be the God of Shem,—the object of his worship and the guardian of his fortunes ; while the progeny of his brethren shall place their foolish trust in those which are no gods.”

This exposition of Shem's blessing will naturally lead to a new sense of Japhet's, if we only recollect what external means were used by Providence to preserve the knowledge of the true God in the chosen branch of Shem's family. These means were—the call of Abraham—the personal intercourse holden with him and his two next descendants—and, in due time, the institution of the Mosaic religion ; of which religion, you will particularly observe, the tabernacle and the service performed in it were the chief external instruments. The magnifi-

cence of the tabernacle—its stately support of upright pillars resting on their silver sockets, and transverse beams overlaid with gold—its gorgeous hangings within, of purple, linen, blue, and scarlet, with the buttons of gold—its noble covering without, of the shaggy skins of goats—its rich furniture, the seven-branched candlestick, the altars, and the implements of sacrifice, all of brass or gold, pure or overlaid—the ark, containing the tables of the law, with the mercy-seat overshadowed by the wings of a cherubim—but above all, the glorious light which filled the sacred pavillion, the symbol of Jehovah's presence,—this glory of the tabernacle in ancient times, and of the temple afterwards, was probably what most caught the admiration of the Jewish people, and attached them to a religion which had so much splendour in its externals, and in which something of what is visible of the majesty of the Divine Being met the senses of the worshippers.

Bearing this remark in mind, let us now turn again to that part of the prophecy which concerns Japhet's family, especially the latter clause of it—"he shall dwell in the tabernacles of Shem." The blessing promised to Shem, we have found to be the miraculous preservation of the true religion in a chosen branch of Shem's family. Might not the prediction of this merciful design of Providence naturally introduce an allusion to the external means by which it was to be effected? Among the external means, we have seen reason to think that the Jewish tabernacle was the most generally efficacious: but under what description is it likely that the tabernacle, not erected till the days of Moses, should be mentioned in prophecy so early as the days of Noah,—and in this prophecy in particular, in which Jehovah, for the intention of maintaining the true religion in a branch of Shem's

family, is characterized as the God of Shem?—A beautiful consistency of imagery will be maintained, if the tent which Jehovah was to pitch for this purpose among men, should be called Shem's tabernacle, or Shem's tent ; for a tent and a tabernacle are one and the same thing, and the word in the Hebrew is the same. This holy tent or tabernacle was Shem's tabernacle, because it was erected among the sons of Shem, and because none might bear a part in the whole service of it, who did not incorporate with the chosen family.

But, farther. This tabernacle, and the service performed in it, were emblems of the Christian church and of the Christian service. When all these circumstances are put together, can any doubt remain, that, in the mention of the tents of Shem, the Holy Spirit made allusion to the Jewish tabernacle as an emblem of the Christian church ; and that the dwelling of Japhet in these tents of Shem, took place when the idolatrous nations of Japhet's line, converted to the faith of Christ, became worshippers of the God of Shem in Shem's tabernacles—worshippers of the true God, in the modes of worship prescribed by revealed religion ?

And this interpretation well agrees with the apostle's maxim, being supported both by the harmony of the prophetic system and the truth of history.

For the harmony of the prophetic system. This interpretation brings this particular prediction to bear directly upon the general object of prophecy, the uniting of all nations in the faith of Christ ; and it is worthy of particular remark, that, from the delivery of this prediction, the conversion of the Gentiles made a standing part of all the prophecies of the Saviour. Now, that nothing of variation might appear in the schemes of Providence, it should seem that it was requisite that the first intima-

tion of the design of selecting a peculiar people, which is contained in Shem's blessing, should be accompanied with an intimation of the general mercies of which that measure was to be productive to all mankind : but of the general benefit intended we have in this place no intimation, if it be not conveyed in Japhet's benediction,—in which benediction it is not conveyed, unless this sense of that benediction be admitted. This interpretation, therefore, of the prophetic blessing pronounced on Japhet, most of all connects it with the great object of prophecy, and best maintains the harmony of the prophetic system.

Then for history. The fact is notorious, that the gospel, from the beginning to the present times, hath made the greatest progress in Europe, and in those parts of Asia which were first peopled by the posterity of Japhet. Among the uncivilized descendants of Ham, and the degenerate sons of Shem, it hath not been so generally spread, or hath not so deeply taken root.

Beside this evident agreement with history and the prophetic system, another circumstance is much in favour of this interpretation, which is this,—that the image of this prediction bear a near affinity to those under which later prophets have described the same event. Hear in what language the prophet Isaiah announces the conversion of the Gentiles, in words addressed to the Jewish church, as the emblem of the Christian. "Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations." Or, as the words are more significantly rendered in a late translation, "Let the canopy of thy habitation be extended. Spare not : lengthen thy cords, and firmly fix thy stakes. For on the right hand and on the left thou shalt burst forth with increase, and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles." Here, you see,

Isaiah's allusion is to the tabernacle ; and the image presented to him is an enlargement of the sacred tent, to contain new crowds of worshippers ; and the stakes are to be driven deep and firm—the cords are to be lengthened and drawn tight, that the sides of the tent may be able to sustain the pressure of the multitudes within it. Noah's allusion is also to the tabernacle ; and the image presented to him is the admission of foreign worshippers. It is therefore one and the same scene which the patriarch and the younger prophet have before them ; and, except in the distinct mention of that particular circumstance, that the new worshippers should be chiefly of Japhet's stock, Noah's prophecy differs not from Isaiah's, otherwise than as an outline differs from a more finished drawing of the same objects.

Thus, by the apostle's rules, prophecy, in that part of it which regards the family of Japhet, is brought to three senses, in each of which it hath been remarkably verified,—in the settlements of European and Tartarian conquerors in the Lower Asia and in the East,—in the settlements of European traders on the coasts of Indostan, —but especially in the numerous and early conversions of the idolaters of Japhet's line (among whom it is fit that we of this island should remember our own ancestors were included) to the worship of the one true God, and to the faith of Christ.

I am sensible that this variety of intent and meaning discovered in a single prophecy, brings on a question of no small difficulty, and of the first importance. It is this, —What evidence of a providence may arise from predictions like the one we have now been considering, in which a variety of unconnected events, independent, to all appearance, of each other, and very distant in times, seem to be prefigured by the same images ? And. al-

though it be a digression from my main subject, yet as the inquiry is of the highest importance, and spontaneously presents itself, it is to this that I shall devote the remainder of the present discourse.

I shall not wonder, if, to those who have not sifted this question to the bottom (which few, I am persuaded, have done), the evidence of a providence, arising from prophecies of this sort, should appear to be very slender, or none at all. Nor shall I scruple to confess, that time was when I was myself in this opinion, and was therefore much inclined to join with those who think that every prophecy, were it rightly understood, would be found to carry a precise and single meaning, and that, wherever the double sense appears, it is because the one true sense hath not yet been detected. I said, "Either the images of the prophetic style have constant and proper relations to the events of the world, as the words of common speech have proper and constant meanings,—or they have not. If they have, then it seems no less difficult to conceive that many events should be shadowed under the images of one and the same prophecy, than that several likenesses should be expressed in a single portrait. But, if the prophetic images have no such appropriate relations to things, but that the same image may stand for many things, and various events be included in a single prediction, then it should seem that prophecy, thus indefinite in its meaning, can afford no proof of providence: for it should seem possible, that a prophecy of this sort, by whatever principle the world were governed, whether by providence, nature, or necessity, might owe a seeming completion to mere accident." And since it were absurd to suppose that the Holy Spirit of God should frame prophecies by which the end of prophecy might so ill be answered, it seemed a just and fair conclusion.

that no prophecy³ of holy writ might carry a double meaning.

Thus I reasoned, till a patient investigation of the subject brought me, by God's blessing, to a better mind. I stand clearly and unanswerably confuted, by the instance of Noah's prophecy concerning the family of Japhet ; which hath actually received various accomplishments, in events of various kinds, in various ages of the world, —in the settlements of European and Tartarian conquerors in the Lower Asia, in the settlements of European traders on the coasts of India, and in the early and plentiful conversion of the families of Japhet's stock to the faith of Christ. The application of the prophecy to any one of these events bears all the characteristics of a true interpretation,—consistence with the terms of the prophecy, consistence with the truth of history, consistence with the prophetic system. Every one of these events must therefore pass, with every believer, for a true completion.

A plain instance, therefore, being found in holy writ, of a prophecy which bears more than a double meaning, the question, what evidence such prophecies may afford of a divine providence, becomes of the highest moment. I enter upon the discussion of it with this preliminary observation,—that if our suspicion that such prophecies may receive a seeming accomplishment by chance, or by the natural and necessary course of the world, should appear, upon a strict examination, unreasonable and ill-founded, the consequence will be, that the evidence arising from this sort of prophecy is of the highest kind ; since the greater the variety of events may be to which a single combination of images shall be found to correspond, the more of art and contrivance is displayed in the framing of the prophecy, and the more of power (if ac-

vident be clearly excluded) in bringing about the completion. Our whole inquiry, therefore, is reduced within a narrow compass, since the whole is brought to rest upon this single question, May the accomplishment of such predictions be, or may it *not* be accidental? If it may, then such prophecies are frivolous, and the Deity is blasphemed when they are ascribed to him. If it may not, then such prophecies are most complete and wonderful demonstrations of the absolute foreknowledge and universal providence of God. The negative of this great question, which leads to these comfortable and glorious consequences, I purpose to sustain. I mean to show you, that, amidst all the comprehension and variety of meaning which is to be found in any prophecies of holy writ, and which, in the instance before us, of Noah's prophecy, is indeed wonderful, certain restrictions and limitations will always be found, by which the power of accident, or any other but an intelligent cause, is no less excluded from any share in the completion, than it is in other instances, where the prediction, like the curse upon the serpent, points direct and full at a single event. The method which I shall pursue to make this appear, shall be to argue upon Noah's prophecy, which I have so particularly expounded, as an instance; and my method of arguing upon this instance shall be, to contrast it, in every circumstance, with a pretended prediction, which, for the propriety of its images, and the exactness of its completion, hath been compared and set in competition with the prophecies of holy writ.

A heathen poet, whose subject leads him to speak of a certain voyage, which, if it was ever really performed, was the first attempt of any European nation to cross the main seas in a large ship with masts and sails, describes, in elegant and animated strains, the consequences which

the success of so extraordinary an undertaking might be expected to produce upon the state of mankind, the free intercourse that was likely to be opened between distant nations, and the great discoveries to be expected from voyages in future times, when the arts of ship-building and navigation, to which this expedition, if a real one, gave rise, should be carried to perfection. This is his general argument, and verses to this effect make the conclusion of his song.

“————— Distant years
Shall bring the fated season, when Ocean,
Nature’s prime barrier, shall no more obstruct
The daring search of enterprising man.
The earth, so wide, shall all be open,—
The mariner explore new worlds;
Nor Shetland be the utmost shore.” *

“Now give me,” says the infidel, † “a prophecy from your Bible, which may be as clearly predictive of any event which you may choose to allege for the accomplishment, as these verses have by mere accident proved to be, of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. Give me such a prophecy from your Bible, as I have produced to you from a heathen poet, who yet was no prophet, nor claimed the character, and I will turn believer.” We cheerfully accept this arrogant defiance ;—we are thankful to the adversary that he hath invited us to meet him on such advantageous ground, by comparing what may justly be deemed the most indefinite

* “————— Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxat, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.”
Seneca, Medea, 374, &c

† Anthony Collins.

of the Scripture prophecies, with the best specimen of the power of accident for the completion of prophecy which his extensive reading could produce.

These verses of his Latin poet are, indeed, a striking example of a prediction that might safely take its chance in the world, and, happen what might, could not fail at some time or other to meet with its accomplishment. Indeed, it predicts nothing but what was evidently within the ken of human foresight,—that men, being once furnished with the means of discovery, would make discoveries,—that, having ships, they would make voyages,—that, when improvements in the art of ship-building should have furnished larger and better ships, men would make longer and more frequent voyages,—and that, by longer and more frequent voyages, they would gain more knowledge of the surface of the globe which they inhabit. What peasant of Thessaly but might have uttered such prophecies as these, who saw the *Argo* bring her heroes home, and observed to what degree the avarice and curiosity of his countrymen were inflamed, by the wealth which the adventurers had amassed, and the stories which they spread? What restriction do we find of the generality of these prognostications, which may seem to put the exact completion out of the reach of accidental causes? None. Neither the parts of the world are specified from which expeditions of discovery should be fitted out, nor the quarters in which they should most succeed: or, if any particular intimation upon the latter article be couched in the mention of Shetland as an island that should cease to be extreme, it is erroneous, as it points precisely to that quarter of the globe where discovery hath ever been at a stand,—where the ocean, to this hour, opposes his eternal barrier of impervious unnavigable ice.

So much for our infidel's prophecy. Let us now compare the patriarch's. Of this, indeed, the topics are most general,—the increase of mankind—empire and servitude—varieties of religion—conquests—migration—foreign settlements. The increase of mankind was to be foreseen from physical causes ;—that, mankind being increased, some part would govern, might be probably conjectured ;—that one part governing, another part must serve, was of necessity to be concluded ;—that a part of mankind would fall from the worship of the one true God, was to be feared, from the example of the antediluvian world ;—that conquerors would plant colonies, and merchants make settlements in foreign countries, the same example might persuade. So far the comparison may wear a promising aspect on our adversary's side ; but let him not exult before his victory is complete. Let him tell me by what natural sagacity the patriarch might foresee—by what analogy of antediluvian history he might conjecture, that Japhet's line would have so greatly the advantage over Shem's, in the rate of increase by propagation, and in the extent of territory, that when he speaks of God's enlarging Japhet, he should esteem the enlargement of Shem in either instance unworthy to be mentioned. Did blind causes bring about the agreement, which all history proves, between the patriarch's conjecture and the event of things ? “Unquestionably,” the adversary will reply, “blind causes brought this about. Physical causes determine the rate of propagation, and with the rate of propagation the growth of empire is naturally connected.” It is granted. But was it within the natural powers of the patriarch's mind to ascertain in *which* line these physical causes should be the most efficacious, while the nations to arise from either of his sons lay yet unissued in the loins of their progenitors ?

If not, to what may the agreement be ascribed between the thoughts of the patriarch's mind, which did not command those physical causes, and the effects of causes which could not influence his thoughts, but the energy of that Supreme Mind which hath the thoughts of men and the motions of matter equally in its power?

Again, I ask, by what natural sagacity did the patriarch foresee that Shem's family, rather than any branch of the other two, should retain the knowledge and worship of Jehovah?—that the condition of slavery should be fixed upon a particular branch of Ham's descendants?—that the masters of those slaves should be of the stock of Shem or Japhet, rather than of the collateral branches of their own family? By what natural sagacity did the patriarch foresee the distinct genius and character of whole nations yet unborn?—that the spirit of migration should prevail in the line of Japhet, while the indolent progeny of Shem would ever be averse to foreign settlements, and indifferent to a distant commerce? Hath it been accident, I would ask, that the history of past ages, and the experience of the present time, confirm the patriarch's conjecture, and falsify the poet's?—for the poet, although the adversary would gladly have suppressed that circumstance, speaks of the intermixture which he thought likely to take place of different nations. But, unfortunately for the infidel's argument, the poet is wrong precisely in those particulars in which the patriarch is right; and this although the poet lived when the different genius of the sons of Shem and Japhet had shown itself, and lay open to a wise man's observation. "The cool Armenian streams (so the poet guessed) shall quench the parched Indian's thirst, and Persians drink the Rhine and

Elbe."* But is it so? Did ever a colony of Indians settle in the Upper Asia? Are Persians to be found upon the banks of the Elbe or the Rhine? What said the patriarch? Just the reverse; and that reverse proves true. Tartars from the north of Asia hold possession of Shem's Indian territory, and Japhet's Europe drinks the Ganges!

Was it accident—was it an effect of mechanical causes, that Japhet's sons, when they had been sunk for ages in the abominations of idolatry, were reclaimed at last by the emissaries of that divine teacher who arose among Shem's descendants, and thus settled, according to the patriarch's prediction, in Shem's tabernacles? Was it chance—was it nature—was it fate, that a prophecy like that before us, applicable to events of various sorts,—to propagation—conquest—trade—religion, hath received an accomplishment in every sense in which the words can be taken?—and this notwithstanding that each sense hath such limitations as no less require a certain determination of the course of the world, for the verification of the prediction, than if each sense had respected one individual fact? I would not indeed deny, that without any superintendence of the world by Providence, events might sometimes so fall out as to correspond with a random conjecture of the human mind, or with the forged predictions of an impostor. But if the impostor's words should carry two meanings, the probability that they should be verified in one meaning or the other would indeed be much greater; but that they should prove true in both, the probability would be much less, than that of

* "—————Indus gelidum
Potat Araxem: Albini Persie
Rhenumque bibunt."

Seneca, Medea, 372. &c.

the accomplishment of a prediction of a single meaning. If the words, instead of two, should carry a variety of meanings, the improbability that they should prove true in all, would be heightened in a much greater proportion than any who are not versed in computation may easily be brought to apprehend. But the phenomenon which Noah's prophecy presents, if it be not a real prophecy brought by Providence to its completion, is that of a prediction of an immense extent and variety of meaning, which hath had the wonderful good fortune to be verified in every branch. If this cannot be supposed to have happened without Providence, in the single instance of this prophecy, how much less in all the instances of prophecies of this sort which occur in holy writ? And if this could be conceived of all those prophecies, so far as they concern secular events, yet, let me ask, do we not find in every one of them, or at least in the far greater part, that some event of the Messiah's reign, or something characteristic of his time or person, makes one, and for the most part the most obvious of the various meanings? And is this too casual,—that such a variety of predictions as we find of this sort in the Bible, delivered in different ages, upon very different occasions, should be so framed, as all to bear upon one great object, the last of a succession, or the chief of an assortment of events, to which the images of each prediction are adapted with such wonderful art, that every one of them hath passed in its turn for the accomplishment? Should you see the rays of the sun reflected from a system of polished planes, and transmitted through a variety of refractive surfaces, collect at last in a burning point, and there by their united action melt down the stubborn metal which resists the chemist's furnace, would you refer the wonderful effect to chance, rather than to an exquisite polish—

to an accurate conformation and a just arrangement of the mirrors and the glasses ? Would you not suppose that the skill of many artists had concurred to execute the different parts of the machine, under the direction of some man of far superior knowledge, by whom the properties of light and the laws of its reflections and refractions were understood, and by whom the effect which you had seen produced was originally intended ? And can you suppose that it hath happened without design and contrivance, that the rays of the prophetic light are concentrated in a single point to illuminate a single object ?

You will now recollect and apply the observation with which we entered upon this discussion,—that accident being once excluded from any share in the accomplishment, the evidence of a providence which these multiform prophecies afford is of the highest kind.

DISCOURSE II.

2 PETER, i. 20, 21.

Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not at any time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

FROM the digression which closed my last discourse, I now return to my principal subject; and shall immediately proceed to the last general topic I proposed to treat,—namely, to show that this same text of the apostle, which is so sure a guide to the sense of the prophecies, will also furnish a satisfactory answer to the most specious objection which the adversaries of our most holy faith have ever been able to produce against that particular evidence of the truth of our Lord's pretensions, which arises from the supposed completion of the prophecies of the Old Testament in him and in his doctrines.

The objection, indeed, is nothing less than this,—that although the divine inspiration of the Jewish prophets be admitted, their prophecies will afford no support to our Lord's pretensions; for this reason, that in the application of these prophecies to him, and to the propagation of his doctrine, they are drawn by the writers of the New Testament to a sense in which they were never understood by the prophets themselves who delivered them: and since the true sense of any writing can be no other

than that which the author intended to convey, and which was understood by him to be contained in the expressions which he thought proper to employ, an application of a prophecy in a sense not intended by the prophet must be a misinterpretation.

The assertion upon which this objection is founded, "that the first preachers of Christianity understood prophecies in one sense which were uttered in another," cannot altogether be denied ; and, unless it could be denied in every instance, it is to little purpose to refute it, which might easily be done, in some : for if a single instance should remain, in which the apostles and evangelists should seem to have been guilty of a wilful misinterpretation of prophecy, or of an erroneous application of it, the credit of their doctrine would be greatly shaken, since a single instance of a fraud would fasten on them the imputation of dishonesty, and a single instance of mistake concerning the sense of the ancient Scriptures would invalidate their claim to inspiration. The truth, however, is, that though the fact upon which this objection is founded were as universally alleged,—which is not the case,—yet, were it so, we have in this text of the apostle a double answer to the adversary's argument, which is inconclusive, for two reasons : first, because the assumption is false, that the prophets were the authors of their prophecies, "for the prophecy came not at any time by the will of man ; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost ;" and, secondly, were the assumption true, still the conclusion might not stand, "because no prophecy of holy writ is its own interpreter." I will endeavour to make you understand the propriety of both these answers. which at first perhaps may not strike you.

First, then, I say we deny the adversary's rash conclusion, though in part we grant his premises, because his assumption is false, that the prophets were the authors of their prophecies. The assumption is false, upon the principles upon which the adversary who urges this objection professes to dispute. He professes to dispute upon a concession of the divine inspiration of the Jewish prophets. But, if the prophets were inspired, they were not the authors of their prophecies;—the Holy Spirit of God was the author of every prophecy or of every saying of a prophet, so far at least as it is prophetic; and the views of that Omniscient Spirit who gave the prophecy—not the surmises of the men whose faculties or whose organs that spirit employed—are to be the standard of interpretation; and this upon that very principle which the adversary alleges,—that the meaning of every book, and of every sentence in the book, is its author's meaning.

To explain this more distinctly, I must observe, that all prophecy is speech, in which the prophet is made to express ideas of the Divine Mind, in uttering his own; and the prophecies of holy writ are divisible into two different kinds, distinguished by two different manners, in which this utterance of the mind of God by the mouth of the prophet was usually effected. The first kind consisted in a scene allegorically descriptive of futurity, which was displayed to the imagination of the prophet, who was left to paint the images excited in his phantasy in such language as his natural talents of poetical description might supply. Of this kind are the prophecies delivered by Jacob and by Moses, not long before their death—the prophecies of Balaam, and many that occur in the writings of those who were prophets by profession. The other kind consists merely in verbal allusions. when

the prophet, speaking perhaps of himself or of his own times, or of distant events set clearly in his view, was directed by the inspiring Spirit to the choice of expressions to which later events have been found to correspond with more exactness than those to which the prophet himself applied them. This kind of prophecy particularly abounds in the Psalms of David, who often speaks of the fortunes of his own life, the difficulties with which he had to struggle, and his providential deliverances, in terms which carry only a figurative meaning as applied to David himself, but are literally descriptive of the most remarkable occurrences in the holy life of Jesus. Nor is this kind of prophecy unfrequent in the writings of the other prophets, who were often made to allude to the general redemption, when they would speak in the most explicit terms of deliverances of the Jewish people ; and were seldom permitted to deplore present calamities, or to denounce impending judgments, but in expressions literally descriptive of the sufferings of Christ and the afflictions of his church.

In both kinds of prophecy the Spirit of God and the mind of man had each its proper part. In prophecies of the first kind, the *matter* was furnished by the Spirit of God, and the language only is the man's. In these prophecies we often find a double obscurity, of which one part is to be imputed to the man, and arises from the concise and broken manner in which he utters his conceptions. Carried away by the strength of the images presented to him, the prophet seems often to forget that his hearers were not apprized of what was passing in his own fancy : he addresses them upon the subject of what he sees, as joint spectators of the interesting scene, in brief allusions, and in animated remarks upon the most striking parts, rather than in a just and cool description

of the whole. Now, this obscurity may indeed be best removed by inquiring the prophet's meaning—by collecting, from his abrupt hints and oblique intimations, what might be the entire picture exhibited to his mind. But, when this is sufficiently understood, another obscurity, arising from the matter of the prophecy, may yet remain. The mystic sense couched under the allegorical images may yet be hidden; and for clearing this difficulty, on which the real interpretation of the prophecy, as prophecy, depends, it may be to little purpose to inquire or to know what meaning the prophet might affix to the images he saw, unless it were certain that the prophet was so far in the secret of Heaven as to know of what particular events these images were designed to be the emblems. But this, it is certain, he could not know but by a second inspiration, of which there is no evidence,—by an operation of the Divine Spirit on the man's understanding, which might enable him to decypher the allegorical scenery which his imagination had been made to conceive: for, that the sight of the picture should be accompanied with any natural discernment of its mystic meaning, is no more necessary than that a waking man's recollection of his dream should be accompanied with a clear understanding of its signification; the reverse of which we know to have been the case in ancient times, when prophetic dreams were not unfrequent. The dreamer could describe every particular of his dream, but, for the meaning of it, 'twas necessary he should have recourse to other persons with whom the gift of interpretation was deposited; and had God been pleased to withhold this gift, a prophetic dream would have had no interpretation antecedent to its completion, and yet, by the completion, would have been understood to be prophetic. Now, what is a dream which is distinctly re-

membered, and not at all understood, but one instance of a prophetic vision, of which the sense is unknown to the prophet? In prophecies, therefore, of this first kind, there is no reason to suppose that the prophet's meaning was the whole meaning of the inspiring Spirit; but there is the greatest reason from analogy for the contrary conclusion.

In prophecies of the second kind, the whole matter is from the mind of the man, but the language is from the Divine Spirit; and, in this case, the immediate action of the Spirit seems to have been upon the memory of the prophet, which was directed to suggest words, phrases, and similitudes, which, at the same time that they were strongly expressive of the prophet's thoughts, were still more nicely adapted to the private meaning of the inspiring Spirit. Now, in this, as in the former instance, the first step towards the understanding of the prophecy is to settle what was the meaning of the prophet. But still this may be understood, and the meaning of the Divine Spirit remain a secret; for in this, as in the former case, 'twas impossible the prophet should be apprized of the Spirit's meaning, without a second operation on another faculty of his mind, by which it might be empowered to discern those future events within the view of the Omniscent Spirit, to which the expressions in which he clothed his own thoughts might be applicable. But of this second act of the Spirit, for the private information of the prophet, no evidence appears.

Upon the whole, prophecy of either kind was the joint production of two intellects, of very different and unequal powers. In this, therefore, as in every instance where more than single intellect is concerned, a design and meaning may reasonably be ascribed to the superior understanding, which contrives and directs, not imparted

to the inferior, which obeys and executes ; just as, in any book, the meaning of the author may be little understood by the corrector of the press, and not at all by the founder of the types. And yet the disparities of understanding between the wisest and most learned author, and the most ignorant of the mechanics whose manual art and industry must concur in the publication of his labours,—the disparity between the wisest man and the humblest of his instruments, is nothing in comparison of that which must be confessed to subsist between the two intellects which have concurred in the publication of the prophetic word.

Here, then, is one answer which the apostle furnishes to this specious objection, “that the prophecies of the Old Testament are misinterpreted by the writers of the New ; being taken in senses in which the authors of those prophecies, the prophets, never understood them.” The prophets, says the apostle, were not the authors of their prophecies, any more than a scribe is the author of the discourse which he takes down from the mouth of a speaker. “For the prophecy came not at any time by the will of man ; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.”

This first answer is, however, an answer to the objector rather than to the objection ; since it goes no farther than to prove that the adversary’s argument is inconclusive ; and as it hath happened to many to fail in the proof of true propositions, through want of skill or circumspection in the framing of their arguments, it may perhaps be supposed that this may have happened to our adversary in the present question. It may be said, in defence of the opinion he sustains, that though every author must be allowed to understand his own writings, it is not to be allowed that no writing is to be understood by

any but the author of it. Though the principle, therefore, may be false, upon which our adversary would conclude that the prophets had of all men the clearest understanding of their prophecies, the reverse is not immediately to be concluded—that any other men have had a clearer understanding of them. It is possible, it may be said, that the prophets might enjoy a clear foresight of the events to which their predictions were intended to allude, as some men have had the gift of interpreting their own dreams ; and that, if this was the fact, which may seem no unnatural supposition, the consequence still must be, that no meaning that may be affixed to any prophecy may be the true one, that was not within the comprehension of the prophet's mind. Now, we will allow the adversary to amend his assumption, and to reform his argument ;—we will allow him to assume, that the full meaning of every prophecy was clearly understood by the prophet who uttered it. We shall, in the course of our argument, find a proper place to show that this assumption is false, and all consequences built upon it at the best precarious. But, for the present, we grant this assumption, with every consequence that may fairly be deduced from it. We must therefore grant (what we hold, indeed, to be false ; but for the present we must grant it) that nothing may be a true completion of a prophecy which was not foreseen by the prophet. Still we feel ourselves at liberty to maintain that the adversary's argument, with all this emendation on his part, and with all this concession on our own, hath no connection with the particular conclusion against the first preachers of Christianity ; because he has not proved—because he could not prove, without retracting that very assumption on which his whole argument depends—because the thing is incapable of proof upon any principles which an infidel granting

the divine inspiration of the Jewish prophets can admit—their inspiration being granted, it is incapable of proof, otherwise than by the authority of the later Scriptures, that those very meanings which the writers of the New Testament affix to the ancient prophecies might not be in the minds of the prophets, though they are not obvious in their words. The proof of this assertion rests upon the apostle's maxim, that “no prophecy of Scripture is of self-interpretation ; or, to state the same thing affirmatively, that the sense of prophecy is to be sought in the events of the world, and in the harmony of the prophetic writings, rather than in the bare terms of any single prediction.

The apostle asserts that all the Scripture prophecies are purposely so conceived as not to be of self-interpretation. He intimates that it was a part of the scheme of Providence, that prophecy should be so delivered as to have to fetch its interpretation from the consistence of the prophetic system, and from the events of the world. I do not insist upon the authority of the apostle ;—I know that this is nothing with the adversary : but I persuade myself you will recollect, that in a former discourse, in which I opened the connection between the apostle's maxim and the facts on which he builds it, I proved, from the end to which prophecy, if it comes from God, must unquestionably be directed, and from the wisdom with which the means of Providence must ever be adapted to their ends,—I proved to you, not from any man's authority, but from these plain and general principles of natural religion, namely, that God is good and wise, that his ends ever are the best, and his means the most fitting and convenient,—I proved to you, from such plain principles as these, acknowledged by Deists no less than by Christians. that if prophecy be really of

divine original, that mysterious disguise by which the events of remote futurity (such at least as depend on the free actions of men) may be kept almost as much concealed as if prophecy had never been given, must be a part of the original contrivance. Hence it follows, that whatever private information the prophet might enjoy, the Spirit of God would never permit him to disclose the ultimate intent and particular meaning of the prophecy in the bare terms of the prediction. I ask, then, by what means we may discover that any particular meaning which may seem to suit with the prediction was not in the prophet's mind, when it is proved, that although it had been in the prophet's mind he would not have been permitted to declare it. By what means doth the adversary pretend to show that the applications of the ancient prophecies which are made by the evangelists were never intended or foreseen by the prophets, but by showing that no such intention appears in the terms of any prediction, considered in connection with the occasion upon which it was delivered, the circumstances in which the prophet might be who uttered it, and the persons to whom it was addressed? But where is the force of this conclusion,—“The apostle's sense of the prophecy is not to be found in the terms of the prediction; therefore it was not in the prophet's mind?” Where is the force of this conclusion, if the mind of the prophet, possessed of that sense, would nevertheless be irresistibly determined, by the impulse of the Almighty Spirit, to envelop the perceived sense in an enigma, which should remain inexplicable till the time for the accomplishment should draw near? And this must have been the case, if the prophet was privy to the intent of his prophecy, and the Holy Spirit of God was really his inspirer. Our adversary would prove that the ancient prophecies, though

allowed to be divine, give no countenance to the pretensions of our Lord ; and his boasted proof is this : “ Your first teachers,” he says to Christians, “ have taught you to misinterpret these prophecies, in applying them to your pretended Messiah ; for they adopt a mode of interpretation which you must confess to be inapplicable, unless the divine inspiration of the prophets be admitted.” The argument is no less incoherent and infirm than it is base and insidious, which is built, like this, on an occult retraction of what the disputant, in drawing his own state of the controversy, professes to concede.

Thus you see, that though the general principle should be admitted, that the true meaning of a prophecy cannot be unknown to the prophet, yet the particular conclusion, that the prophecies of the Old Testament have been misapplied by the writers of the New, hath no connection with these general premises. Although the general maxim could be proved to be true, the particular conclusion might nevertheless be false. And now we may safely advance a step farther, and say that this conclusion is proved to be actually false, by the evident agreement of the particulars of the gospel history with the prophecies which have been applied to them, and by the mutual harmony and consistence of the prophecies so interpreted ; since, whatever might be in the mind of the prophet or his contemporaries, a manifest correspondence and agreement between the particulars of an event and the images of a prophecy is in all cases a complete evidence that this prophecy was predictive of this event, provided the prophecy so applied be consistent with the general purport of the system. The authority of this evidence is so decisive, that the private opinion of the prophet, could it in any case be clearly ascertained, must give way to it. If the prophet, in any case, pretended to form a

conjecture concerning the ultimate intention of his prophecies, his judgment must still bow down to time, as a more informed expositor ;—and this is an immediate consequence of that disguise of prophecy which renders it inexplicable but by time, and which hath been shown to arise from the attributes of the Deity. Our adversary, therefore, has employed his learning and his logic to his own confusion ; he has brought himself into a disgraceful and unpleasant situation, for a man who asserts with confidence, and would affect solidity of argument. The senses of the ancient prophecies, which he rejects because he supposes them to have been unknown to the prophets, he cannot prove to have been unknown to them ; and, if he could prove this, still the conclusion, upon principles which in his assumed character of a Deist he cannot but admit,—the conclusion still must be for ignorance in the prophet, rather than error or fraud in the apostles. And this was indeed the case. The inspired prophets had not always a distinct foresight of the particular events in which their prophecies were to receive their ultimate accomplishment ;—not but that the prophets and the earliest patriarchs had indeed an expectation full of joy—a glorious hope of a deliverance of mankind from the ruin of the fall, and the later prophets understood that the deliverance was to be effected by a descendant of the royal stock of David ; but, of the particulars of our Saviour's life—of the particular doctrines he was to teach—of the particular sufferings he was to undergo—of the means by which the true religion was to be propagated,—of these things they had no distinct and particular foreknowledge. That they had it not, is implied in the text ; but it is more explicitly affirmed by St. Peter, in his first epistle. “Of which salvation”—*i. e.* of the salvation of the souls of men. purchased by our Lord Christ Jesus.—

“ of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you ; searching what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow.” Here, you see, is an explicit assertion that the particulars of the gospel dispensation, testified by the Spirit of Christ, the Omniscient Spirit of the Father and the Son, which was in the prophets, were matters of anxious search and diligent inquiry to the spirit of the prophet. But what is once known and clearly understood is no longer an object of inquiry and search to him who knows and understands it. By the prophets, therefore, who inquired and searched diligently after that salvation of which they prophesied, the true sense of their own prophecies was but imperfectly understood.

And this circumstance, the confessed ignorance of the prophets concerning the issue of their prophecies, is that which gives the testimony that prophecy affords of the wise and powerful providence of God its peculiar weight ; for the evidence of prophecy lies in these two particulars,—that events have been predicted which were not within human foresight ; and the accomplishments of predictions have been brought about, which much surpass human power and contrivance. The prediction, therefore, was not from man’s sagacity, nor the event from man’s will and design ; and then the goodness of the end, and the intricacy of the contrivance, complete the proof that the whole is of God. But, if it appeared that the events had been foreseen by the prophets, a very important branch of the argument, the exclusion of human fore-

sight, would be rendered very precarious. The infidel, in that case, would have said, "The plain fact is, that these events were foreseen by men. You tell us, indeed," he would say to the advocates of revelation, "that this foresight came from a preternatural illumination of their minds; but this is a mere hypothesis of your own, which you set up because it best serves your purpose. All that appears is, that these men did foresee these events. On what principle their power of foresight might depend, is matter of doubtful inquiry. Why should it rather be referred to some inexplicable intercourse of a superior mind with the human, than to a certain faculty originally inherent in the minds of those particular men, the use of which might be no less easy and natural to them than the use of a more limited faculty of foresight, and the ordinary talent of conjecture, is to you? Are not men very unequal in all their endowments? And this being once allowed, is it not reasonable to suppose of any faculty or power which a man is seen to exercise, that he possesses it as his own, in that degree in which he is seen to exercise it? The prophet's foresight, therefore, of the things he did foresee, was natural to him. And why," the infidel would add, "why should it be doubted but that man hath powers to effect what the human mind hath power to prognosticate?" To such objections, the evidence from prophecy would indeed have been obnoxious, had the prophets shown a clear foreknowledge of the full intent and meaning of their prophecies; but the case being the reverse,—since the events which best correspond with the prophecies, and put the system of prophecy most in harmony with itself, were neither foreseen by the prophets nor by any other men till they had ac-

tually taken place, or till such things had taken place as at the same time brought these accomplishments within the reach of human foresight and put it beyond the reach of human power to prevent them, there can be no ground for these extravagant claims in favour of man's sagacity to predict, or of his power to accomplish. Had the case been otherwise, the divine inspiration of the prophets might still, indeed, have been an object of probable opinion and rational faith; but it becomes as much more certain, when the ignorance of the prophet notoriously appears, as the consequence of a known fact or self-evident truth is more certain than any conclusion from the most plausible hypothesis.

I have now discussed the various points of doctrine that my text suggested. You have seen that it confutes those vain pretensions to an infallible authority of interpretation, which its meaning hath been perverted to support. You have seen that it furnishes rules by which the private Christian may be enabled to interpret the prophecies of Scripture for himself. You have seen that these rules are of extensive use, and ready application. You have seen, that, by virtue of that peculiar structure which brings them under these rules of interpretation, the most multiform of the Scripture prophecies do equally with the most simple afford a positive evidence of God's providential government of the world. And, lastly, you have seen, that, from this same text of the apostle, the most specious objection which infidels have ever been able to produce against the argument from prophecy in support of the Christian revelation, receives a double answer,—one from the fact upon which the apostle builds his maxim of interpretation, the other from the

maxim itself,—the first defeating the objector's argument, the other establishing the opposite of his conclusion. Nothing now remains, but briefly to obviate a question which many who have attended to these discourses may, perhaps with the best intentions, wish to put,—whether these rules of interpretation, which we have taken so much pains to explain and to establish, are sufficient to clear the prophetic writings, to popular apprehension, of all obscurity. Length of time, by the changes which it makes in the customs and manners of mankind, on which the figures of speech depend, and by various other means, brings an obscurity on the most perspicuous writings. Among all the books now extant, none hath suffered more from this cause, in its original perspicuity, than the Bible ; nor hath any part of the Bible suffered equally with the prophetic books, in particular passages : but, notwithstanding the great and confessed obscurity of particular parts of the prophecies, those which immediately concern the Christian church are for the most part, so far at least as they are already accomplished, abundantly perspicuous, or incumbered with no other difficulty than the apostle's rules of exposition will remove ; nor does the obscurity of other parts at all lessen the certainty of the evidence which these afford. The obscurity, therefore, of the prophecies, great as it is in certain parts, is not such, upon the whole, as should discourage the Christian laic from the study of them, nor such as will excuse him under the neglect of it. Let him remember, that it is not mine, but the apostle's admonition, who would not enjoin an useless or impracticable task, “ to give heed to the prophetic word.”

Trabels

OF

PROFESSOR SCHOLZ.

PROFESSOR SCHOLZ'S TRAVELS.

Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Paraetonium, die libysche Wüste, Siwa, Egypten, Palästina und Syrien, in den Jahren 1820 und 1821. Von Dr. Joh. Mart. Augustin Scholz, Professor der Theologie auf der Universität zu Bonn. Leipzig und Sorau, bey Friedrich Fleischer. 1822.

Travels in the Region between Alexandria and Paraetonium, the Lybian desert, Siwa, Egypt, Palestine and Syria, in the years 1820 and 1821. By Dr. John M. A. Scholz, Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn. 8vo. pp. 305.

THIS work has been presented to the public six years, and although its subject is one of general interest to the Christian world, we have as yet seen no English translation. Our intention is rather to give a brief outline of its contents, than to subject it to a critical review. The author, who is already known to the Theologian as the writer of several works, appears to have been eminently qualified for the labour of obtaining information in the East. As a distinguished member of the church of Rome, he had peculiar facilities for becoming acquainted with the ecclesiastical history and statistics of the Oriental Sects ; and his familiarity with the Arabic language and literature afforded him an easy introduction to the interior of Asiatic and African life and manners.

Dr. Scholz sailed from Trieste in a vessel bound for Alexandria. His patrons were his Royal Highness Prince Henry, and the Lord Consul General Bertoldi. From Alexandria they pursued their journey westward through a region once celebrated in history, but now left to the sole possession of the wandering Arab. The company consisted of General the Baron von Minutoli; M. Lie-mann, Professor of Architecture; M. M. Ehrenberg and Hemprich, Naturalists and Physicians, and Dr. Scholz, together with three attendants of the General, one of the Naturalists', two Dragomans, and an Arab servant. In common with all other travellers, Dr. S. complains of the perverseness and dishonesty of their guard of Bedouins, and especially of the interpreters; and relates that, according to a Turkish proverb, the three curses of Constantinople are the Plague, the Fire, and the Dragomans. During this time the temperature was, at noon, between 85° and 88° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. Among other natural phenomena, they frequently observed the Aurora Borealis, and assured themselves of the fact so often stated, that there is scarcely any perceptible ebb or flood of the Mediterranean tides. On reaching the borders of the Tripolitan government, they found it necessary to return through the desert to Alexandria. They suffered much from forced marches under a burning sun, in a sandy waste, from want of water and provision, and afterwards from the prevalence of damp and chilling weather. In every instance they observed that vegetation improved as they approached the sea. M. Liemann of Berlin, died at Alexandria on the 11th of November, and was interred in the Greek Cloister.

Dr. S. visited Cairo and the Pyramids, and left that city upon the 5th of January, 1821. He was accompanied by the Bishop of Babylon. who is a Frenchman. as

are all who hold that office, agreeably to the condition imposed by the French lady, who, about a hundred and fifty years ago, left a foundation for the support of this establishment. The journey into Palestine was pleasant and instructive. They visited Gaza and the adjacent towns, the plains of Cesarea, Saron, Tantora and Atlid, together with Mount Carmel and all Galilee. Judea was also traversed, and its interesting relics sought out, but the alarming intelligence from European Turkey put an end to further investigation. The Turks became suddenly inflamed against the Christians, and disarmed all who were at Jerusalem. Travelling in the East is represented as being extremely unpleasant, even under the most favourable circumstances, and in the largest companies; and when alone, the traveller is exposed to extortion, robbery, and sometimes the loss of life. The roads are almost impassable at many seasons, and the accommodations upon the way, intolerable. Men and beasts are lodged together in the miserable Khans. On the coast, from Lebanon southward, and in Galilee, travellers are usually unmolested, but in other parts of Syria, a journey is always dangerous. Three years before, a Caravan from Scham to Bagdad, with more than a hundred camels, was robbed and murdered.

Our traveller returns to give an account of the country between Alexandria and the Eastern border of the Tripolitan government. This he does in detail, and his remarks are highly valuable to the Geographer and the Antiquarian. He could discover no traces of the ancient ports, which, as history informs us, adorned this coast. Salt springs abound in the clay and lime formations of this region, together with many cisterns formed by the Saracens. These are deep, secured by solid stone work, and whitened upon the outside. The culture of barley is

common, but without any of our implements, or houses for preparation and storage. The native vegetation gives a rich and excellent pasture to the flocks and herds of the scattered inhabitants. Shrubs grow in the little vales, and sometimes on the borders of streams may be found spots of verdure, when all the adjacent country is burnt up. A few scattered specimens of the palm and fig were the only trees visible. The entomology of the country is equally simple; its only insects being ants, flies, grasshoppers, beetles, and the *scarabæus sacer*. On the shore however were observed great quantities of coral, muscles, sponges, and shells of every size, shape, and hue.

The vestiges and remains of the ancient inhabitants of this country are not numerous. This whole region was at one time as populous and as well cultivated as any in Africa. The traveller still finds fragments of buildings, columns, walls, and various marbles. The ruins of the city of Abusir were visited; and Dr. S. enumerates and describes other ruins along the coast. The Oases of the desert have been much celebrated; they are spots of fertile land surrounded by sandy wastes,—islands in the midst of the wilderness. That of Siwa is productive and rich, and contains many monuments of antiquity. The language spoken by the Bedouins is a corrupt Arabic, much more guttural than that of Egypt.

Alexandria lies upon a peninsula between the Mediterranean and the sea of Mareotis, in the midst of an uncultivated country. It has two harbours, the old towards the West, and the new towards the East. Marble and granite are much used in the edifices of the Mohammedans; and form also a large part of the ancient remains. Several of the Mosques were once Christian churches, with three naves. Before that of St. Anthony three co-

lunns of fair granite are still remaining. The church of the Greeks is very old ; it has been often destroyed and rebuilt, and its style is that of the Greek churches in other places, with three naves, and a few pitiful paintings. The Latins have the largest church, and a convent with two Franciscans from the Holy Land. Under the present Pacha their condition has been flourishing, and they number about 3000 in their communion. Catholics of the Greek and Armenian ritual, as well as Maronites, frequent this church, and have here two ecclesiastics, who are also school-masters. The Latins have no school, preferring to send their youth to Europe for instruction. The Franks in Alexandria, as in all Egypt, live at peace with the Mahomedans ; but their morals are corrupt, and they seldom are seen at church. The population of Alexandria is between 12 and 15,000.

The present state of Egypt is flourishing, in consequence of the remarkable enterprize of Mahmed Ali Pacha, who has devoted himself to the improvement of its manufactures, commerce, and internal economy. He is nevertheless a despotic prince, the sole possessor of the soil, director of commerce, and monopolist of the whole trade. The population of Egypt is upon the decline, and the once fertile Delta seems destined to be a desert, from the increase of sand, which is also rapidly filling up the celebrated mouths of the Nile. Although the Pacha encourages immigration, yet the dysentery and the plague more than undo all his labours.

Cairo, which is next mentioned, reminds a stranger of a European town, upon the occasion of some great market, or fair. All is bustle and confusion. Its population is a medley of Arabs, Turks, Mamelukes, Berbers, Negroes, Jews, Copts, Greeks, Armenians, and Franks ; and it is the temporary residence of the Bedouins.

There are here about 1500 Franks, mostly Italian merchants and artificers, whose trade suffers every thing but utter extinction under the tyranny of the Pacha. There are two Latin convents, each with a poorly built church. The larger, *Di terra santa*, under French protection, is like those of Alexandria and Rosetta, and some in Palestine and Cyprus, under a superior at Jerusalem. The smaller, *De propogandâ*, under Austrian protection, is more immediately connected with the Congregation *de propogandâ fide* at Rome ; as are also the monasteries of Achmim, Tachta, Dscherdseha, Fersut and Nakadeh, in Upper Egypt. The number of Greeks is at Cairo about 3000, at Alexandria 100, at Damietta and Rosetta 80. The Patriarch of Alexandria resides in a convent in the street of the Greeks. The largest and neatest church is that of St. Nicholas. That of St. Catharine, in the monastery of Monks of Mount Sina is small, but rich. The Copts, the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, have been, by the tyranny of various masters, and by the plague, reduced to 80,000 souls. The number of their churches is 100, of which 23 are in Cairo, with six monasteries. They are represented as lying in deep degradation, as to knowledge and virtue. Most of them can read their Coptic books only with the aid of an Arabic translation. The richest collection of their books and antiquities is in the possession of Signor Drouetti. The Jews are diminished in number, in a low condition, and little acquainted with their own language. Many inquiries were made with regard to Abyssinia, and the results are detailed.

Perhaps no traveller has given a more minute account of the ancient ruins of Palestine. Some of these are remains of early Christian edifices and churches. Some are of the age of the Crusaders, some of the era of Christ, and even earlier. As this is a species of infor-

mation which cannot well be condensed, we refer our readers to the work itself.

Jerusalem has been so many times destroyed and rebuilt, that it is almost impossible to identify the ruins of the different epochs. Dr. Scholz refers the sepulchres of the kings, northwest of the city, to the time of the Romans. Of the age of Constantine are the lower parts of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of the Sepulchre of St. Mary, and the gates of St. Stephen's tower. Of the age of Justinian and Heraclius are many Greek churches, which, however, have suffered great alterations. Of the times of the Crusades are the ruins of the Hospitium of the Knights of St. John. In this building the Christians defended themselves a long time from the assaults of Saladin. The well of Nehemiah, in the valley of Jehosaphat, is in the highest degree worthy of the attention of the Antiquarian. It is very deep, hewn in rock, and surrounded by a wall. Many remains of churches, monasteries, and more ancient edifices still remain. The traveller is shewn the prison of Jeremiah, and the place where he composed his Lamentations. Several pages are occupied with a mere catalogue of ruins. In the neighbourhood is seen what is left of a little Basilica, where, we are informed, the Apostles composed the Creed which bears their name.

No country of the Ottoman empire is so rich in Christian sects as Syria. The Catholics themselves are of the Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Syrian ritual, or Maronites, and constitute nearly a sixth part of the inhabitants of this province. The Latins enjoy as Franks some privileges, especially the protection of the king of France, and other European potentates, and form, in a political and ecclesiastical point of view, *statum in statu*. But since the French invasion and Revolution their privileges have

been much curtailed. Religious services are conducted by Franciscans, Capuchins, and Carmelites or Lazarites, who are all sent out from the convents of Europe. The first came to the Holy Land almost immediately upon the institution of their order, as appears by a Bull of Gregory IX. of date Jan. 29th 1230. These fathers number at Jerusalem 800, at St. John's 80, at Bethlehem 100, at Nazareth 800, at Rama 2, at Jaffa 300, at Akka 80, at Arizza 2, at Damascus 200, at Tripoli 18, at Ladakia 20, at Aleppo 800, at L'Arnaca 600, at Cairo 700, at Alexandria 2000. All spiritual affairs are under the direction of the Guardian of the monastery at Jerusalem. These poor fathers suffer constantly from the extortions of their Turkish governors, who demand large sums from them under the most frivolous pretexts. They are bound also to entertain for a month all the pilgrims who visit the holy city. For thirty years they have thus suffered, and sometimes have paid in one year 2,000,000 piastres. Yet there are those who say that they have been the authors of their own miseries, and have made themselves enemies by their pride, arrogance, and ostentation, their criminal divulging of secrets of the Confessional, and their harsh treatment of travellers and of their own poor. Nor are these charges deemed by Dr. S. altogether groundless. In the French invasion they were despoiled of all their goods, and are now reduced to poverty. In other parts of Syria they are less oppressed, being recognized as Franks.

With the exception of the Franciscans, who have the cure of souls, the religious orders in Palestine are rather missionaries than regular ecclesiastics, as the Capuchins at Damascus and Tripolis. In Beyroot, and, within a few years, at Saida, these fathers are curates of Latin

Christians, and enjoy the special protection of the king of France.

The Catholics of the Greek ritual are devout and stedfast in their religion, and on account of their sufferings are regarded as martyrs. They have at this time a Patriarch named Ignatius, who resides at Zug in Kesserwan, an Archbishop of Sur, Cyril Debas, who resides in his Diocess, and six Bishops : for Palestine, Theodotion Bishop of Acric ; for the Mountain of the Druses, Basilus Bishop of Saiba ; for Aleppo and its vicinity, Basilus Bishop of Aleppo ; for Damascus, Ignatius Bishop of Satcheleh ; and for Antilibanus, Clemens Bishop of Balbec. Most of these are afraid to live in their Dioceses, and their very lives are in danger from the schismatical Greeks. Dr. S. estimates the Greek Catholics of Sur at 3100, and those of Palestine at 5670 ; in Scham there are above 10 000, and in Aleppo, &c. 15,000. Armenian Catholics are not numerous in Palestine. In Syria their number is considerable, and in Aleppo there are as many as 10,000. Their Patriarch resides at Scharfi upon Mount Lebanon. These also have been sorely persecuted by the schismatics. At Aleppo many of them suffered death rather than unite with the schismatics as they were ordered to do by the Pacha. Syrian Catholics are found principally in Aleppo, and on Mount Lebanon. Their Patriarch lives in a monastery near Antura. They are numerous in Diarbekir. A few Chaldean Catholics are in Haleb, under a patriarch in Mohal.

The most numerous and powerful sect in Syria is that of the Maronites. They reside almost entirely in Kesserwan, and a part of the Mountain of the Druses. They have a patriarch in Kanovin, six acting Bishops, and six titular Bishops. They are estimated at 200,000. Such is the account which our author gives of the Catho-

lics of Syria, which is the more to be relied on as he is himself a Papist.

Next to the Catholics, the most numerous are the members of the Greek church, whom Dr. S. denominates the schismatical Greeks. They have two Patriarchs, one of Antioch, and one of Jerusalem. The Patriarch's Vicar at Jerusalem is Michael Bishop of Petra. Several other Bishops reside there, mostly titular. Their members amount to 16,700 in Judea. They have in Jerusalem nine convents of monks, and four of nuns, together with three in the vicinity. The religious of these monasteries, and all in Palestine, are from the Archipelago or other parts of Greece. Even the nuns come from a distance, and live upon alms, or by their own labours. In the largest monastery live the Bishops, Archimandrites, and many monks; in the others usually a single monk, and some lay-brethren. They perform the service in the Greek tongue. All the qualification required of a priest is the knowledge of reading, writing, and the ritual. Their churches are small, and built upon the same model. The hatred of the Greeks towards the Catholics is inveterate, and this can scarcely be attributed to diversity of doctrine: for all the religion of the Greeks seems to consist in their crossing themselves, and making the necessary genuflections. They deny the doctrine of Purgatory, and yet believe in the efficacy of intercession for the dead, and pay sometimes 200 piastres for a single Mass. They treat the Franks with more cruelty than the Mussulmans ever exercise.

The Armenians have a Patriarch in Jerusalem, an Archbishop, about a hundred monks, three monasteries, and two hundred lay-members; in Bethlehem, a monastery with two monks, and two families: in Rama, a monastery with one monk: and in Jaffa, a monastery with

three monks, and fifty Christians of their sect. They are extremely jealous of the Latins, from whom they withhold a part of the church at Bethlehem. Of late years the Christians have little protection against the insults and injustice of the Mussulmans. They do not associate together ; even the children do not mingle in their sports ; and the same separation exists between the Christians of different sects.

The Christians in the East are strict in the observance of the fasts of the Church, but preaching and catechising are among many unknown. In the Greek church all the congregation join in the chants, &c. ; in other sects they merely respond. The Latins only have preaching on every Sunday and Festival. The Latins say Mass in Latin, reading one of the Gospels in Arabic ; the Greek monks all in Greek ; native ecclesiastics in Arabic. The Catholic Greeks perform the service in Arabic ; the Copts in Coptic and Arabic, the Abyssinians in Ethiopic. A minute account is given by Dr. S. of the Easter Festival at Jerusalem. This has been so often described that it may be here omitted. There were present at this Festival in 1821, 1400 Armenians, 1200 Greeks, 30 Georgians, 300 Muscovites, 60 Copts, 15 Syrians, 1 Abyssinian, 20 Oriental Catholics of the Greek and Armenian ritual, 4 Maronites, and 15 Franks.

Upon the geography and the inhabitants of Syria Dr. S. is minute and satisfactory. The population of Kesserwan is computed at 200,000 ; that of the Mountain of the Druses at 160,000. The population of all Syria may be reckoned at 3,000,000. Jerusalem contains about 18,000 inhabitants : 2100 Christians, 800 of the Latin, 1100 of the Greek, 200 of the Armenian, and 50 of the Coptic ritual ; 5000 Mohammedans, and 10,000 Jews. The number of the last increases every year. It is said,

that in some years more than 500 come from Europe, while not more than 50 go away. Upon the Arabic language Dr. S. appears to be well qualified to give information; and his remarks on the different dialects, and the changes of modern times are such as would be peculiarly interesting to the Oriental scholar. A catalogue of words as used by the inhabitants of Syria and of Egypt is given, so as to afford an opportunity of comparing the two idioms. We conclude these remarks by recommending this simple but comprehensive work to every lover of antiquity, and every student of the Scriptures.

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THE
Populousness of the Antidiluvian World
CONSIDERED.

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Communicated for the Biblical Repertory.

*The Populousness of the Antediluvian World considered—
being the substance of a Paper read before the Lit. and
Phil. Soc. of N. J., in March 1827.*

From our fathers, the stream of truth descends to us, mingled with their *errors*. From a source so sacred, truth and error are imbibed with equal reverence and faith, till the inconvenience of error is perceived, and then we begin to scrutinize our draughts. This, I think, is necessary, in reference to the common opinion, "that the antediluvian world was *more populous* than the present." While we invite your attention to the examination of this opinion, we would not pretend to demonstration; yet we trust our remarks will not be absolutely hypothetical, while they will be found to have an important bearing on certain difficulties in natural and moral science.

Of the currency of the opinion, which attributes to the antediluvian world a population so immense, one may judge, when it is referred to as a thing of course by such authors as *Whiston* (*Theory of the Earth*), *Cockburn* (*Treatise on the Deluge*), the writers of the "*Universal History*"—*Dr. George Benson* (*Paraphrase on 6 Epistles*, *Dissertat.* 1, p. 165)—*Editor of the New Cyclopædia*—*Saurin* (*Discours historiques, &c.*, tom. 1), *Shuckford* (*Connexions of Sacred and Prof. History*), and *Bp. Clayton* (*Vindication Hist. of O. and N. Test.*, part 2). The last not only adopts the opinion, but even founds on it an argument for the *necessity* of the Deluge, the earth that then was, being "overstocked," (p. 75). The list of those who hold this notion might be greatly extended.

There have not indeed been wanting those who have supposed these notions too extravagant. Of these we might mention Bp. *Stillingfleet* (*Origines Sacræ*. lib. 3, cap. 4.) *Worthington* (*Scripture Theory of the Earth*, p. 213), and a few others. But they have been few.

Among those who hold the prodigious populousness of the antediluvian world, calculations have been made, differing a little from each other, but all arriving at an aggregate far greater than the number of the present inhabitants of the earth, and in some instances, more than the present world could well sustain. All the calculations are made on the supposition that mankind would then double themselves in about 40 or 50 years. After suitable allowances are made for casualties, &c., the resulting number of persons alive at the time of the deluge, is more than *thirteen billions* or millions of millions! — This air of mathematical certainty is given to the opinion, by taking for granted that the *succession of progeny* was at about the same rate as now, and that population *now doubling* itself in 360 or 370 years, as the lives of the antediluvians were 10 times longer than ours, they would double in a period ten times shorter.

It must be manifest that the opinion to which we demur, is entirely *hypothetical*, there being in the Mosaic record *not one* hint to justify the assumption. Besides, to help it through with its arithmetic, we must grant it, not only similarity of laws in reference to the periods of births, but also, at least similarity of extent as to the habitable surface of the former and present worlds. We shall not stop, at present, to be satisfied, whether nature was then as *tranquil* and as kind as now, and as seldom involved incorrigible miscreants in calamity? Whether there were then *no climacterics* in human life, before which a larger portion of the human

family were cut off, than even now? Whether the malignity and diffusiveness of their depravation did not, as now, have a proportionate influence on the number of their progeny? Whether the characteristic "violence" with which earth was filled, did not operate as a tremendous check to the advance of population?—We shall proceed to state our objections to the common opinion, by adducing some considerations furnished by the Mosaic record.

I. The *natural impression* made on the mind of the reader by the Scripture narrative, better accords with the notion of a small population than that of a crowded world. Not a solitary hint is given of swarming multitudes. It speaks apparently, of but two seats of population, and those rather patriarchal than imperial and continental. The one was the dwelling-place of Adam and the family of Seth—the other, the land of Nod, where was the City (or Hamlet, not Cities) of Cain. Though the families for a time, kept themselves scrupulously distinct, yet their places of residence appear not to have been far removed from each other,—the names of their children were interchanged (a), and at length intermarriages became common. Surely then there should be some good reason for departing from the simplicity and apparent restrictiveness of the Mosaic history.

But,

II. The *families* of the antediluvians appear from the record, *not to have been as numerous*, or to have multiplied as fast, as the opinion from which we dissent supposes. This, being the fulcrum of Archimedes, to our hypothetical opponents, is worthy of attentive examination. Grant them, that the births succeeded each other as now, and by the help of the primeval longevity, the immense "populosity" (to borrow a word from Sir Walter Raleigh) is natural enough. But on this point, both the Mosaic record and analogies of nature are against them.

The antediluvians appear to have lived *long* before the birth of their first born sons. The periods of the births of Cain and Abel are not mentioned, but they had both attained *maturity* before the birth of Seth, the third son; and at the time of his birth, Adam had been in his maturity 130 years. It is true, that Adam "begat sons and daughters" besides these, (Gen. 5, 4,) but this is not mentioned till *after* the birth of Seth. And the aspect of the narrative gives no warrant for believing that there were any other sons but Cain and Abel, previous to the birth of Seth. Were there others, they might be expected to appear at the stated time of sacrifice, with Cain and Abel; and if their offerings were accepted as Abel's, to have shared with him the envy and hatred of the elder brother. Nothing like this is hinted. Allusion is made to only two family occupations, only the two offerings, and only two worshippers for all the contrast, preference, and personal feelings which arose out of their worship. That Seth was only the 3d son, at the time of his birth, the complexion of the narrative seems further to establish. We refer to the numerical manner in which his birth is recorded after the sole mention of Cain and Abel, and the death of the latter, "And Adam knew his wife again" (4, 25,)—the formal annunciation of his birth, at the head of the genealogical list, "And Adam lived 130 years, and begat a son in his own likeness and after his image," (5, 3,)—his name, (Seth) which, says one, may not improperly be interpreted "a prince," or one *exalted* above his brethren (as heir), as Cain had been if he had behaved well. And in the 7th verse, the very word *Seth* is thus expressly applied, (1 Lee's Dissertation, 209). This privilege to the eldest son, except in case of forfeiture, of pre-eminence and succession in the patriarchal sovereignty, being a matter *before* understood and proba-

bly one of the revealed elements of antediluvian government, (Gen. 4, 7). Or if the signification "appointed" be taken as referring to him as a substitute for Abel; had there been many intermediate sons, (especially descendants some thousands in number, as many have conjectured,) the infant substitute would hardly have been blessed and named and rejoiced in so specially as the peculiar gift of God to a bereaved and mourning and desolate mother, to comfort her "instead of Abel whom Cain slew." At least the force of the narrative wears no such aspect, to any not pre-occupied with a theory. And even the after progeny of Adam (Gen. 5, 4,) taking the number according to the ancient tradition mentioned by Cedrenus (Whiston's Josephus Ant. 1 ch. 2, § 3, note) compared with his life, bears no surprising disproportion to the size of families in modern times. But the probability that the face of the narrative presents the whole family of Adam exclusive of females, during the first 130 years (i. e. only three sons, Cain, Abel, and Seth,) is strongly confirmed by the family history of the patriarchs of that early age. Lamech is spoken of as the parent of only 4 sons, (Gen. 4. 19—22.) With this accords the age of the several parents mentioned in the 5th chapter of Genesis. (b)

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| 1. Seth, at the birth of Enos, | 205 years old. |
| 2. Enos, at the birth of Cainan, | 190. |
| 3. Cainan, at the birth of Mahalaleel, | 170. |
| 4. Mahalaleel, at the birth of Jared, | 165. |
| 5. Jared, at the birth of Enoch, | 162. |
| 6. Enoch, at the birth of Methuselah, | 165. |
| 7. Methuselah, at the birth of Lamech, | 187. |
| 8. Lamech, at the birth of Noah, | 182. |

That these were the first born sons (with the exception of Seth, who came to the rights of primogeniture

after the banishment of Cain and murder of Abel,) is rendered probable by the following considerations ; (1.) There was, among the ancient orientals, a peculiar interest and prerogative connected with the first-born son, and more especially so in a state of patriarchal society. It was indeed essential to the peace and efficiency of a patriarchal government, the only one which appears to have existed before the flood. It seems to have been recognized of God, as an established and well known maxim, which would not be departed from, notwithstanding the preference of the sacrifice of a younger brother. "His desire shall be to thee, and thou shalt rule over him," (Gen. 4, 7.) This dignity and estimation of the first-born, would naturally lead us to expect that they especially would receive genealogical honours in a list where the genealogy of Seth appears to have been the only object. The first-born, as the only legitimate "princes of the blood," would be most naturally remembered in traditional history ; and there is not a passing hint, that the honours of primogeniture were forfeited by any of the line of Seth, nor is it probable, since piety appears to have been retained among that line of patriarchal princes to the last. And it is no inconsiderable confirmation of the supposition that the table furnished above, is the list of the first born sons, that in the line of Cain, where we have no moral reason for setting aside the regard to primogeniture, the number of generations is similar.

(2.) The other children of the patriarchs are always spoken of as the offspring of later periods of their lives. See Gen. 5. And Seth lived after he begat Enos 807 years and begat sons and daughters (7). So of Enos (10), and of Cainan (13), Mahalaleel (16), Jared (19), Enoch (22), Methuselah (26), Lamech (30).—This inference is confirmed by the language of the record concerning

Shem, (11, 10 and 11,) whose "sons and daughters" there mentioned, succeeded Arphaxad, as we know from other parts of the Record.

(3.) There is a remarkable uniformity in the periods of the births of the different persons enumerated in the line, which bears the appearance of a result from established and regularly operating laws of nature relative to maturity, and of established usages of society founded on these, as to entrance on a married life. Add to this, there appears from the Sacred Record, as we descend, a gradual change of constitution, and consequent shortening of human life, which did not reach its minimum till centuries after the deluge; and the shortening period preceding the birth of those mentioned in the table, bears a remarkable relation to this fact. The very coincidence we should expect on the supposition that the table enumerated the first-born.

The progeny of the Antediluvians appears, from the Record, to have been less numerous than is supposed by our adversaries. We have mentioned that Adam had but three sons in one hundred and thirty years, Lamech, of the line of Cain, but four, as far as the Record supplies any hint of progeny. And that this was the sum of the male descendants of Lamech, is probable from this, that Naamah, his only daughter, is mentioned, without a circumstance to justify the introduction of her name, for any other reason than to complete the list of his family. Noah in six hundred years had but three sons to enter with him into the ark, (Gen. 7, 11 and 13,) and though he lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years, the number of his children was not enlarged, (Gen. 9, 19). Shem was one hundred years old at the birth of Arphaxad, his first-born son, (Gen. 11, 10); and though he lived after that five hundred years, and was one of the three

by whom the whole world was overspread, yet he is represented as the father of but five sons, (10, 22,) Japheth, his eldest brother, the father of but seven sons, (10, 1—2,) and Ham, his youngest brother, the father of but four sons, (10, 6.) Such families, where the parents lived through centuries, ill accords with the premises on which our opponents would build their theory of an infinite population. We have the table of the grandsons of Shem, Ham, and Japheth; and we find attached to them, families in number not uncommon in our age of comparatively brief existence, (Gen. 10 and 11); and if we descend to the age of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or Job, we do not find the number of their children bore any near proportion to the number of the years of the parents.

The "longevity" of the Antediluvians has misled those from whom we dissent. They have supposed that the design of this was that it might have a special reference to population. But this would have been an evil, under existing circumstances, and would have required a series of miracles to sustain the embarrassments which it would involve, as will be seen hereafter. The special design of this primitive longevity appears to have referred to the mental necessities of mankind, especially improvement in the arts, sustaining the patriarchal government, and giving certainty and clearness to original traditions.

If we consider their circumstances and the analogies of nature, we shall find the smallness of the Antediluvian families which the Sacred Record communicates, strongly confirmed. It appears to be the system of the moral Governor of the world, to afford to man only facilities immediately necessary to his present wants, and leave the rest to the diligent use of the capacities with which he is endowed. This furnishes his bodily and mental

powers with proper stimulus to action. Hence from earth, air, and water, man must seek his living. He must watch, labour, invent, to obtain from these their tribute to his comforts. This exercise of mind and body requires time to discover and bring to maturity their different objects of interest. Advancement at first is slow. Not from the Gods, as the ancients supposed, but from the ingenuity of men, as the Scriptures declare, the most important inventions and improvements arose, which have rendered life comfortable. It would seem, therefore, unsuitable, in the infancy of human nature, and before invention and correspondence had done much to render the elements capable of yielding their utmost to man, to crowd upon his infant mind the support of a swarming population.—Beside, when we look at mankind in the rude and helpless state of savagism, as for example, the Indian of our forests, we do not find them characterized by numerous families. Their circumstances are unfavourable to the rapid advance of population, and the period of suckling continues much longer than in improved society.

Let us look at physical analogies, and we shall come to a result similar to what the Mosaic record seemed to justify. The Antediluvians had a peculiarity of constitution, so that the vital principle did not become exhausted for centuries, which now occurs at “three-score and ten.” Here the universal traditions of heathenism coincide remarkably with the Mosaic record. But it is a general law of vitality, that the beings which soon acquire perfection soon decay; while the more durable are slower in arriving at maturity. Hence we should expect that, as the oak of the forest is for ages in infancy, for ages in the vigour of its majesty, and for ages bearing the hoary honours of decline,—so the lives of the Antediluvians would

be bounded by two long imperfect and unproductive periods—periods which would bear a very considerable proportion to the whole of their existence,—some such proportion as these periods bear to the duration of their more evanescent descendants. Hence it would be long before the cares of a family would begin, and long before the close of life those cares would end. Accordingly we find, in the present condition of our race, the period of puberty considerably varying, and the age of bearing differing in different nations. If, therefore, the growth of the Antediluvians was slow, as analogy would suggest, till the growth of the animal frame was completed, or nearly so, the blood and sensorial power would be employed in providing for such growth; and not till this was finished would their excess be turned towards perfecting that system on which the existence of a future race depends. [4, Good's Study of Medicine, 31, Boston, 1823]. In proportion to their whole lives, the period of the birth of their first-born would occur about the age recorded in the Mosaic record, [Worthington, Scripture Theory of Earth, p. 213, note].

As to the period intervening between the several births, which is not sufficiently contemplated in the theory we oppose, it might have been, and there is reason to believe was, longer than ordinary. The slowly-maturing system of this long-lived race would seem to require it, or a helpless progeny in the infancy of society and the arts, would accumulate faster than was fit. The smallness of the patriarchal families mentioned in the Record, confirms it. The more protracted period of suckling among savage or half-civilized nations, strengthens the supposition. And there is no reason why, even in the fact of gestation, the period in an antediluvian constitution should synchronize with our own. No law of animal life requires it.

Without a diversity of organization to occasion it, we find a great difference in the duration of gestation. In the rabbit, one month; in the dog, two; in the sheep, five; in the cow, nine; in the horse, 11 months; while in the elephant twenty, followed by about two years' lactation, and fifteen or twenty years before the offspring may be considered adult, (Cooper's Medical Jurisprudence, 227, 1, Fleming's Philos. Zool. 411, 1, Griffith's Cuvier An. Kingdom, 346, Pachydermata). And notwithstanding this ordinary difference, we find these very animals varying with themselves, by overrunning their usual periods from four days to five or six months; and though the gravid period is at times prolonged, the size of the offspring is not necessarily affected. (Burn's Principles, &c., 108, Lond. 1809). As a general rule, however, the duration of the gravid period has a special reference to the perfection of the offspring; and "the longer the time of utero-gestation, the longer the animals were before they came to full growth; and on this depends their continuance in the mature state without any natural tendency to decay." (Denman, Introduction to Pract. Mid., 256, New York—Richerand, Physiol. 554). How long the period of gestation may be extended in the human race in its present temperament, is not easily settled. But it is well known, that it is often extended beyond the ordinary period, and physiologists have rated it from days to several months. (Male's Epit. ap. Cooper's Med. Juris. 213). From these considerations it is manifest that, considering the diversity of constitution among the Antediluvians, a constitution which resisted decay for centuries, similar laws to those belonging to our constitution, in reference to the duration of gestation, are not to be inferred. Analogy and fitness would alike lead us to expect, that the gravid period would be longer, and the

succession of births less frequent, than in the present day. Can our opponents assure us, that the very difference in the two worlds, contemplated as to enduring vigour of constitution, has not been produced physically, by shortening the period of gestation, so that the present inhabitants of the world are, in a sense, the debilitated beings of a premature birth? One remark at least we feel authorized to make, that the hints given in the record of the smallness of the early families contribute not a little to strengthen the physiological conclusions we have suggested. We leave our adversaries to settle another well known principle, that excessive fecundity exhausts the system, and brings on anticipated decay. Would not this furnish an analogical reason for some check to exhaustion, where extraordinary longevity was to be secured?

III. Another objection drawn from the Record, to the theory we oppose, is that the world appears to have been less productive before the deluge than now; at least, subsistence was obtained with difficulty by the first men. The golden age of paradise had passed, and the iron age of hardship was begun. Fruit once hung but to be gathered and enjoyed, and to dress a luxuriant garden was all of earthly care. Now, the dwelling-place of man was not a garden, but a wilderness, the "herb of the field" his allotted portion, and "in the sweat of his face he ate his bread." "Thorns and thistles" gained upon industry.

"Pater ipse, colendi haud facilem esse viam voluit."

This is the history furnished by the very volume which records the crime and sentence of man. But while Earth was a reluctant tributary to his wants, the heavens seemed to combine in aggravation of his woes. Light was precarious, cold and heat capricious, the seed, over which

he sweated, treacherous ; for, after the last tremendous expurgation, henceforth, said the Lord of all, " seed time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night, shall not fail." [Gen. 8. 22.] It had been said in the day of transgression, " cursed is the ground for thy sake ;" and it must be remembered, that this hard fortune was entailed, and continued to bow the strength of man, until the flood. This curse was unrepealed in the days of Lamech—he felt the woe, and rejoiced in the distant hope of change. Hence when he gave the name Noah (rest, refreshment) to his first born, the prophetic father exclaimed, " this same shall comfort us, concerning our work, and the toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed." [Gen. 6. 29. Patrick in loc.] Noah himself toiled under this burden, till after the flood he was assured " I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake." [Gen. 8. 21.] Then a greater degree of certainty and reward was perpetually guaranteed to the labourer's hopes—Was, then, the earth under a special curse during the whole Antediluvian period—accursed probably by the wild misrule of those natural agents with which the Almighty Governor generally fulfils his decrees—was such an earth in a fit state for the maintenance of a population of illimitable extent ? Add to these evils, the natural inroads of the beasts of the field and the vexatious pilage of the fowls of the air ; all embarrassing incidents of a new colonization with deficient resources, and we shall hesitate still less about the answer.

But, did not man evade the servility of harassing the ground for food, by deserting its culture and resorting for a living to the fold or the chase ? From all the probabilities of the Record, we answer, No—at least, not in the line of Noah. Adam toiled over the niggard earth for bread. Cain, naturally trained, as first born, to the occupation of

his father, and the main support of his family, was "a tiller of the ground." Lamech laboured with his "hands." Noah was reared "an husbandman." The herb alone had been assigned to man, flesh was only granted to him that had been instrumental in preserving the animal world. Abel, it is true, was "a keeper of sheep." But these were not therefore the food of that age; other uses are described. The only way, in the Record, they are connected with man is, as appointed victims for the altar and clothing for the worshipper. And it is expressly mentioned, that skill in the management of cattle belonged to another family and a later age. [Gen. 4. 21.] and [Magee on Atonement, Note III.] Of the subsistence of the family of Cain we have only to say, that to them the earth was loaded with a double curse. He had cultivated the earth under the burden of the first sentence. But now the bloody exile was again assured, "thou art cursed from the earth; when thou tillest the ground it shall not henceforth yield to thee her strength." [4. 11. and 12.] The place of his exile was a land of metals, generally less fruitful than others; and his family found themselves constrained to resort to other methods of livelihood than tillage, or improve upon its mode, to secure their bread. Thus circumstanced, and with defective implements for aiding their accustomed and necessary toils, is it to be expected that the human race would become luxuriant and innumerable? We might add the testimony of Tradition, in confirmation of our remarks. "The Flood," says Bryant [5 Analysis, 279,] "was looked upon as a great blessing—for thence proceeded the plenty with which the present world is blessed. There seems to have been a notion, which of old prevailed greatly, that the Antediluvian world was under a curse, and the earth was very barren."

IV. From the Mosaic Record we derive another ob-

jection to the theory of immense population, since we are furnished with reasons for believing, that the Antediluvians were ill fitted to make the most of an unthankful soil. Population, in their circumstances, must be proportionable to the condition of the arts. Without a knowledge of these, strength and time must be expended to little profit. And nothing is a better scale to estimate the comfort and plenty of a part of the human family, than their knowledge of the metals. But without these essential auxiliaries, man continued for centuries. The arts of metallurgy were not the offspring of miracle, but of ingenuity and necessity. The Record informs us, that these discoveries took place not till the seventh generation from Adam. "Tubal Cain was the first instructor of every artificer in brass (copper) and iron." [Gen. 22.] The seventh from Adam, in the line of Seth, was Enoch, who was probably contemporaneous with these discoveries. But as it would naturally be a considerable time before these arts would be much improved, and the world instructed from the workshops of Cain—the metals would not have come into common use, and their impression on society decisive, till the time of the grandfather or father of Noah. Besides, the mention of but two metals implies limited knowledge, and the necessity of the gradual improvement we have supposed. The history of the use of the metals, wherever they have been introduced in after ages and the prescriptive leanings of the human mind, evince, that improvements in the manufacture and use of metals are but successive and independent discoveries, keeping pace with the advance of related sciences, and the modifications of society. No invention springs, like Minerva, full grown into life.

About the same advanced period of Antediluvian history, the proper construction of moveable tents and the

proper management of cattle, were devised by the ingenuity of another brother, Jabal. These discoveries were so intimately connected with the growth and comfort of a simple people, that the history of mankind before must have been that of imbecility, inconvenience, uncertainty, and want. This late period was the birth-day of music, implying the beginnings of leisure and comfort. Naamah now, if we may credit Tradition, commenced the labours of weaving, substituting an artificial clothing for the "skins" of beasts which had warmed man before. Without the accommodations from such inventions, life could be sustained but with hardship. Destitute of the metals, or of beasts trained for draught, the Peruvians tilled the ground with a stick—the inhabitants of New France, with a wooden hoe or hook—of Gambia, with a wooden shovel—of the Canaries, with instruments pointed with the horns of Oxen. [1 Goguet origin of Laws, &c. 89.] True, they might have filled their forests with fire, and cleaved them with axes of stone; but in an unkindly earth, and with such meagre furniture for obtaining the means of subsistence, are we to expect an illimitable population? Besides, the attention of these primeval men must have been directed to another point—the increase and encroachment of the beasts of the field. These, as their relics witness, must have been amazing in number and formidable in magnitude—proportionate only to the wondrous relics of their primitive forests, which ill attest an earth subdued and universally peopled. The influence of the beast on early society may be learned by the fact, that the pagan demigods were adored for their triumphs over brutes. The first monarch was a hunter; and the contaminating neighbourhood of the accursed and disinherited nations of Canaan was prolonged, "lest the beasts of the field should multiply against them." [Ex. 23. 29.]

This too, when the arts and skill of man were greatly advanced. What then must have been the impediment they offered to extension of the human family, when human ingenuity had to wage hostility with little or no aid from the mine? [Brande Geol. and McCulloch on format. and analog. of Rocks in Journal Royal Inst. for 1826.]

V. Another objection to the ordinary theory, is founded on the intimation given in the Record, when the population of the Antediluvian world became considerable. This, we find, was of late occurrence—towards the closing scene. It is identified with the time when the Deluge was announced to Noah, 120 years before that fearful close. “And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth,—the Lord said, my spirit shall not always strive with man; yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.” [Gen. 6. 1—3.] Then follows an enumeration of the curses of the deluge, “There were giants in those days,” or, as it may signify, men of violence and oppression,—a natural result of increasing population and the application of the metals to give a sterner potency to human enterprize. The ultimate cause is also mentioned; the imprudent marriage of the sons of Seth with the daughters of Cain—which accords with the idea of an augmented population, now extending and approximating the dissimilar families. This supposition is the more natural, as men are disinclined to migrate till some necessity impels them. To effect this after the flood, a miracle seemed necessary, that so man might cover an earth divinely intended to be more widely peopled. Had the Antediluvian population been extensive at an earlier date, the beauties of the family of Cain had earlier met the eyes, and captivated the hearts of the Children of Seth—this would have become a gradual and less noticeable

cause of defection from the family habits of seclusion and piety. But a characteristic separation of families, of different religious sentiments and habits, long kept distinct—then, as they multiplied, extending beyond the limits of the patriarchal home, watchfulness and control—at length breaking over patriarchal authority and usage, and bringing all the consequences of disapprobation, defection, strife, and violence—seem naturally to fill out the hints of the Mosaic record and tradition relative to the history and ruin of that primeval race. This will be strengthened by,

VI. Another circumstance intimated in the Record—the late and rapid advance of corruption. The spirit of prophecy appears to have constantly continued in the line of Seth. Their children were named with a prophetic designation of their future destiny. The prophecying of Enoch was as clear as it was solemn, [Jude 14,] and his memorable translation was an impressive testimony of God's fellowship with the man that walks with him. Lamech and his son were favoured with divine communications. Further, the church of God was distinct from the world in the days of Enos, the son of Seth, and the distinguishing appellation, "Sons of God," which then began, long continued. [Gen. 4. 26.] This organized and determinate separation of the pious, as "a peculiar people," avoiding even marriage with those who were not of the line of Seth, began in the third generation of men, was preserved by the influence of patriarchal piety and authority. Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, and even Methuselah, and Lamech, and Noah, were contemporary; and having witnessed its benefit and in the possession of piety themselves, would strive to maintain the separation. Traditions, the most venerable, coincide with this representation. "Adam, it is said, when

he died, piety triumphing over affection for an apostate son, called around him his race ; and amid other sacred admonitions, charged them to live separate, and have no intercourse with the family of Cain." [1 Gleig's *Stackhouse*, 124.] Enos and Mahalaleel delivered the same charge from their dying beds. [Elmacin ap. 2 Haile's *Analys. Chron.* 34 and 5.] This System of distinctness and separation would naturally be sustained while patriarchal authority and piety were vigorous, and might be expected to continue long, Adam living 930 years, and only closing his eyes when Lamech, the father of Noah, was at least 30 years of age. Accordingly, the only thing which is represented to have broken through the Sacred policy was love,—and these forbidden marriages, probably, would not become common earlier than the days of Jared (descending), whose name is referred to the declining piety, actual or anticipated. Tradition affirms that the marriage of "believer and infidel," and consequent defection in Religion, began in the days of Mahalaleel, and grew more notorious and alarming in the days of Enoch. [Patrick Bedford's *Chronol.*—2 Haile's *Analys.*] Josephus delivers a similar account. [*Ant.* 1. ch. 3, § 1.] And even when these forbidden marriages were introduced, the fact, of the totality of the depravation they operated, would be more naturally supposable of a small population of two adjoining tribes, than the teeming millions of a wide-spread world.

VII. The ministry of Noah [1 Peter 3. 19—20] would more strikingly harmonize with the supposition of a moderate population. This ministry, or persuasion to repentance and piety, could not be performed by proxy. To him alone the divine communication, with its attendant evidence that a Deluge was approaching, were given. He alone believed. [Heb. 11, 7.] He alone was pious

before God. Those would not preach who disbelieved and derided the doctrine. The work therefore was personal, and he alone is accredited as the preacher. Yet the spirits of the Antediluvian sinners are said to have been visited, ("he went") and addressed. They are charged as individually "disobedient" to the preacher they enjoyed "while the Ark was building." While this structure was carried on, an attestation of his faith and sincerity, the whole population of the Antediluvian world might have been visited and addressed, if the inhabitants were not more numerous than we have found other reasons for believing. The supposition of direct, personal preaching and expostulation, is in best accordance with the mercy of that Being "who kindly warns before he strikes the blow."—The memorable delay of seven days before the dreadful burst of the destroying waters, would thus afford ample time for the remotest penitent to reach the only asylum from approaching vengeance. [Gen. 7. 10.]

We are aware, that all the considerations we have enumerated are not equally conclusive, nor of themselves individually sufficient to sustain an opinion respecting the population of the former world ; but together they present an harmony and force which entitle us at least to charity in our dissent from the common opinion, if not to the claim of probability for that which we have advocated. But the settling of remote historic verities is not an idle expenditure of pains. The facts of history, like those of nature, which seemed at first of little worth, are often the thread of Ariadne to the wanderer of a Labyrinth. Let us then wait for the day of their application, rather than despise them. Some use for this view of the early history of our race will be found in the Subterranean Chambers of Geology.

I. It has long been a mystery, which Sceptics have ob-

jected to the Record of Moses, that his page did not accord with the page of Nature—that though the traces of the Deluge are every where manifest, in the fossils which are plentifully and widely distributed, yet among the multitudes of bones, not a single wreck of the human frame has been found. Indeed, this has passed into an axiom in “Oryctognosy,” (Cuvier, Jamieson, Knight’s New Theory of the Earth, &c.) and, indeed, if the world before the Deluge were crowded with millions of the human race, this would be a geologic difficulty not easy to master. The use to be made of such a fact is manifest—it is furnished in our standard geography. Malte Brun, in summing up the amount of geologic research, remarks, “that the total absence of human bones in the different collections of remains, proves that man did not exist anterior to the last revolution of the globe.” (1 lib. 12, p. 283.) (c) But does geology indeed warrant this conclusion and belie the Mosaic Record? The learned and ingenious Sumner, (Records of Creat. vol. I. app.) though he undertakes to disincumber the sacred narrative of geological difficulties, overleaps this. Others, who have knowledge enough to feel the embarrassment, have moved for a hearing at a future time, when more facts shall have been disclosed. Others, with more piety than science, have attempted a prompt solution of the difficulty—Some have asserted, that the bones of men decay sooner than those of beasts, since of man only it was said, “dust thou art and to dust thou shalt return.”—But this merits no consideration. Another has referred to a miracle of mercy succeeding that of justice, by which human skeletons have been annihilated to spare the feelings of the surviving race. But this looks like an Iscariot kiss. De Luc (Letters to Blumenbach) accounts for the fact, by supposing the entire submersion of the

continents formerly occupied by man, the present habitable world being raised from the islands and bottom of the primeval ocean, (Append. to Element. Treatise on Geol. p. 403. § 31. Lond. 1809). Penn, (Mineral and Mosaic Geol.), urges a similar theory. But still we ask, on the supposition that millions of men sojourned with beasts upon the same land, why should the relics of one be preserved and exposed after the cessation of the same common fatality, and yet not a bone of the other? According to our view of the bearing of the Mosaic narrative, the result of the Deluge would be exactly what geology discovers—a small population, and therefore their remains scarce. The two Antediluvian tribes are located in the midst of the Asiatic continent, but contiguous, intermarrying, and few. If, as St. Pierre inferred from the aspect of the earth, and the geographical hint of Moses relative to the floating of the ark seems to confirm, the surging of the diluvial waters was northward, the same flood which bore away the carcase of the Siberian mammoth, might bear away and bury, amid the debris of northern Asia, a portion of the human carcasses, whose number and diffusion were never great. The returning waters might float others to the bosom of the Southern Ocean. Others of the few might be thinly scattered over the broad surface of the intermediate continent. Or, if retiring from the approaching waters to the central summits, they there were at last overtaken by the billows that chafed at either side, and met and engulfed them, still, over Asia would they be scattered, or in the Indian Ocean buried. If then, few at best, and these widely scattered over an Eastern world in their ruin, is it strange that the chances of modern and accidental digging should not yet have disinterred them? Geology is yet scarce out of her “teens:” has she no more to

learn ? Is she, with the half-learned lesson of one continent, in the matter of another of which she knows nothing, to be sustained in her pert contradictions of the hoary sage, whom every science has verified ? Where have the great cemeteries of diluvial relics been opened ? Chiefly in Europe.—In Europe, which (if a part of the dry land of the former world) was a “terra incognita” to the restricted tribes of Cain and Seth, whose only recorded migrations were “eastward” of their paternal abode. (Gen. 4, 16). In the “caves” of Europe—the very den and asylum of the affrighted beast, but which man would most avoid in the terrors of a flood. But of Asia, what can the geologist tell us ? But yesterday her mountains were measured,—and can he even now tell us of what they are built ? Geologic excavations we will not yet require, when even to travel safe through her regions is a “tale.”

We might also suggest, that the surface of dry land which peered above the waters before the Deluge, was less considerable than since that event. This condition, besides affording larger supplies for the “windows of heaven” which poured down their torrents, rendering more natural the fearful invasion of the waters, when the “fountains of the great deep were broken up,” and more readily accounting for the predominance of aquatic vegetables in the relics of the former world, would at the same time, admit and require a smaller stock of human inhabitants, and make in its succeeding state, a higher elevation of its mountains necessary to afford space for the subsiding waters, as well as throwing up new continents from the excavated bosom of the deep. With this supposition both tradition and physical indications accord. Asia too, by its higher and broader surface, and where the Scriptures intimate the diluvial changes were small,

may even now be naturally taken for the home of the Antediluvian world.

2. The moral difficulties connected with the deluge, are diminished. "If earth was then swarming with her myriads of the human race, it is harder to imagine that in no obscure or remote corner, the contagion had not reached—when one cause of depravation is mainly operative, the all-seeing eye might not find other Noahs who had not yielded to its influence—that so soon after creation, the Perfect Being who presides over all and anticipates all, should have made such infinite havoc of the human race." True, even such scruples are not unanswerable. With rational and voluntary beings to whom his laws have been communicated, God has a right to make as large and long an experiment of their loyalty as he pleases, and to punish disloyalty wide as the crime—and disloyalty may spread wide as his empire. But, foreseeing the speedy issue of his first sovereignty over our race, when the experiment of long life was tried on man, to silence all murmurings against subsequent brevity, it seems reasonable to expect that the experiment would not be tried on a larger scale than benevolence would require—there seems no reason for multiplying without number the future victims of his justice ;—an inconsiderable population would seem best to illustrate the attribute of mercy, while "his hand took hold on vengeance." And this "a priori" conclusion is exactly that, to which the testimony of Scripture and Nature has brought us. The habitations of man were not diffused over an extended surface—the population never great—the universality of depravation facile—and the punishment complete, but not countless in its victims. The ravage of a pestilence, or an inundation—the ruin of an earthquake, or the havoc of a battle or a massacre—the philosophic

butcheries of illuminated France, may equal the number of their slain. Of one thing we are sure, respecting Him whom we adore : “ he is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working ;”—“ his laws are holy, and just, and good ;”—“ he is long suffering, abundant in goodness ;”—“ to punish is his “ strange work.” A community universally corrupt, is ever a fit subject for punishment. What purpose can it serve to prolong rebellion and profligacy, law and penalty, exhortation and motive, kindness and discipline notwithstanding ? Is any good to be gained by suffering violence to vex and corruption to taint the last of the faithful ? No reasonable objection can be entered against the triumph of divine holiness and supremacy over a lustful, bloody, and disorganized congregation—the determined, incorrigible, veteran transgressors of a former world. And the monuments of that triumph, which now and every where meet the eye of every son of Noah, are important teachers of the folly of violating the moral laws of God, “ who changeth not.”—“ Just and right is He !”

NOTES.

(a. p. 565.) Since the preceding discourse was written, I find the same opinion here espoused, has been suggested or advocated by others. The geologist may think better of it, when he finds the lamented Conybeare thus expressing himself in a note: "there appears little reason to conclude from the sacred narrative, that the Antediluvian population had become numerous; and it appears to have been concentrated in countries which have not as yet received examination." (*Outlines of the Geology of Eng. and Wales, &c.*, part 1, introd. p. 59). The theologian may think more favourably, when he finds the same opinion advocated by Dr. Russel, the learned and ingenious connector of Shuckford and Prideaux. The historian and political philosopher will be gratified in finding that this opinion has found an advocate, without any reference to geology, in the acute and elegant author of "*the Philosophy of modern History*," (Dr. George Miller of Dublin), a work, notwithstanding the leer of Dr. Lingard. (pref. *Hist. Eng.*) worth all his multiplying quartos.—For, after all, the reader of history should not be a mere "*anceps syllabarum*," a chronicler of dates and facts, but think and detect human tendencies towards the grand plan which is constantly developing; and the technical historian is a mere mechanic, grinding and setting a glass, so that others may see what he never dreamt of,—worlds beyond. A child can count, but it requires the mind of a mathematician to raise out of numbers and relations a beauteous and an useful science. While referring to this work, I feel constrained to subjoin from it a few remarks on the divine interposition which renewed the face of the earth. "The species then. anterior to the Deluge, was

improved in the arts of life, and yet become, almost universally, unworthy to continue in existence : every thing had been done for the general advancement of society, which the infancy of mankind admitted ; and at the same time, such a degree of depravity had become generally prevalent, that the social system was disqualified for a further advancement. It was therefore necessary that some extraordinary measure should be employed, for arresting the corruption and preserving the improvement—some expedient, by which future ages might receive the benefit of the advantages already attained, and yet be separated from the evils with which the acquisition had been accompanied. The principles of reform, possessed by the race, having proved ineffectual, the measure resorted to was the destruction of the whole species except a single family, and the means prescribed for the preservation of that family imposed a necessity of exercising the mechanic arts in as great perfection as they were then known.” 1 *Philos. Mod. History*, note, p. 118—137.

(b. p. 567.) I have used in the list, the dates of Dr. Hailes, to whose *Analysis of Chronology* the reader is referred, for reasons which we think conclusive.

(c. p. 583.) Christians are not disposed to deny the statement, that well ascertained relics of the human skeleton are not found occurring among the organic remains of antediluvian existence. I am aware that Dr. Toulman has said, that in every quarter of the world we meet with the remains of man in a fossil state. But this pitiful advocate of atheism either got his science from a grave-digger, or “knew not whereof he affirmed.” I am aware of the human skeleton brought from the beach at Guadaloupe, but the aspect of the rock in which it was found, and the presence of recent shells, indicate its modern formation, and make it no exception to the general

proposition. Some human remains have been lately announced by a German geologist, but their influence on the subject has not yet been settled. The haste which is manifested, on scanty premises, to rush to a conclusion unfavourable to the authority of the Divine Volume, forms a miserable comment on the head and heart of modern "philosophers." Truth we love. The Sacred Volume urges us to "search for it as for hid treasures." The Bible claims to be a communication from the God of truth, who is also the Author of nature. All his works harmonize. We are not debarred by the sacred Volume from searching the volume of nature. We go to it with eagerness, because "the earth is full of His glory." And we never had a scruple, that the Sacred Volume, rationally interpreted, would not accord with facts in the natural, and fitness in the moral world.

NOTICE
OF
DOCTOR CASTELL.

FROM

"Todd's Life of Bishop Walton."

NOTICE

OF

DOCTOR CASTELL.

Dr. *Edmund Castle*, or *Castell*, was a younger son of Robert Castell, Esq. of East Hatley, in the County of Cambridge; where he was born in 1606. He became a pensioner of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1621: from which he removed, many years afterwards, to St. John's College, for the advantage, as some have said, of the library there. In the early part of his life, he had been Vicar of Hatfield-Peverell, in Essex; and afterwards Rector of Woodham-Walter, in the same county; both which he resigned at different periods. He was also Rector of Higham-Gobion, in Bedfordshire; which benefice he retained till his death. He was appointed professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge in 1666, and a prebendary of Canterbury in 1667. He was also chaplain in ordinary to king Charles the second. Possessed of these honours, he died in 1685.

The commencement of his labours upon the *Lexicon* appears to have been in the *same year, which presented

* Dr. Walton, in a preceding note, mentions the specimen of the *Lexicon* as then (1657) published; and speaks of more than one as employed in it. Nor has Castell omitted, in his Preface, to notice partners in his toil; yet some of them at length deterred by the immensity of the undertaking from further concurrence; some remaining long with him, as Murray, Beveridge, and Wansleb; but Lightfoot always, as

to the public Dr. Walton's proposals for his Bible. For this Lexicon, which was published in 1669, has been des-

without him, he has said, his work could never have been so entire as it is. See Strype's Life of Lightfoot, p. xxi. It appears also that Mr. Samuel Clarke was another of the viri docti, alluded to by Dr. Walton, in the following very interesting account, in 1661, both of Castell and his work. "Dr. Castell, whose labours about the Biblia Polyglotta were not inferior to any one's, and Mr. Clarke, an assistant also in the Great Bible, persevering in their endeavours to do yet more good, about three years since printed some Proposals for the printing of Grammars and Lexicons for the Languages in the Great Bible. In Cambridge they found good acceptance, and Dr. Castell professeth he received no where so much encouragement for the work as there; and when some number of subscribers had paid the first sum, they began to open the press. But Mr. Clarke is called to an office in Oxford. Dr. Castell yet resolves to go on cum bono Deo; and with the assistance of such persons as were fit for the work, and patient, he hath finished all the first tome; the other tome now in the press, and the Grammars, will be finished as soon as may be with convenience. That which hath retarded the work, has been the paucity of subscribers, besides the unfaithfulness of some that subscribed.—Dr. Castell is a modest and retired person. Indefatigably studious, (and for many years his studies were devoted to these Eastern languages,) he hath sacrificed himself to this service; and is resolved, for the glory of God and the good of men, to go on in this work, though he die in it, and the sooner for the great pains it requires; so great that Petrus and some others, that were engaged by him to assist, were forced to desist, as being unable to endure such Herculean labours. I never see Dr. Castell, nor think of him, but his condition affects me. He hath worn his body in the unexpressible labours, which the preparations of such a work for the press require. He hath been forced to sell some part of his no great temporal estate to procure money for the paying off the workmen at the press; the money subscribed falling short, and there being such a scarcity of persons so nobly affected as to contribute. God preserve him in health, that he may lay the head-stone; God raise up some, that may move others of ample fortune to ennoble themselves, by encouraging a work of so universal and diffusive a good; God reward him in the comforts—of this life also! Persons, deserving highly for their endeavours of the public good, would have found no less encouragement in the heathen world. Such an one at Athens would have had the favour of the Prytaneum. Would such places were erected in Christendom!" Letters of Dr. Worthington to Hartlib, Ep.

cribed as “* a work of seventeen years; a *seventeen years’ drudgery*, as he himself styled it in one of his Letters; in which, besides his own pains, he maintained in constant salary seven English and as many strangers for his assistants; all which died some years before the work was finished; and the whole burthen fell upon himself; though by God’s grace he at last finished it, before it finished him.”

Yet, thus employed, he did not hesitate, though he worked † most laboriously for it, to render many important services to Dr. Walton; in a ‡ manner too which illustrates the great modesty, as well as erudition, which Dr. Walton, in § acknowledging those services, has not overpassed. His labours upon the Samaritan, the Syriac, the Arabic, and the Ethiopic versions, with notes upon all of them: and his Latin translation of the Canticles in the last-named language; are what the Preface to the Polyglot records. In the sixth volume of the Polyglot, his || further assistance of collation is gratefully noticed. Yet

xvi. Sep. 9. 1661. p. 280, et seq. Dr. Pocock was also an assistant to Castell. Castell petitioned Cromwell to have five thousand reams of royal paper, excise and custom free. See Dr. Twell’s Life of Pocock. §. 3.

* Strype, Life of Lightfoot, Prefixed to Lightfoot’s Works, p. xxi.

† Sixteen or eighteen hours a day between the Polyglot and the Lexicon! He accounted it a kind of idle holiday, if at any time this space of study was shortened! “*Mihi verò in molendino hoc per tot annorum lustra indesinenter occupato, dies ille tanquam festus et otiosus visus est, in quo, tam Bibliis Polyglottis quàm Lexicis hisce promovendis, sexdecim aut octodecim horas dietim non insudari.*” Epist. Dedic. in Lexic.

‡ Speaking of the Manuscripts which Dr. Walton spared neither cost, nor labour, to procure for the Polyglot, he adds: “*Cujus etiam vigilantiæ, studiisque indefessis, debetur, quòd conatus nostri, qui in eadem arena desudavimus, aliquid hic in bonum publicum protulerint.*” See his Præf. in Adimadvers. Samarit. in Genesin, Bib. Pol. vol. vi.

§ Præf. in Bib. Polyglot.

|| Vide Collat. Pentateuchi Hebraici cum Samaritico. Bib. Polyglot. vol. vi.

these acknowledgments have not been considered equal to his services. For he is * said to have also translated several of the Books of the New Testament, and the Syriac version of Job, where differing from the Arabic. To the neglect also, which his generosity experienced, there is a pointed reference in the Preface to his own Lexicon. On him, as on other learned assistants, Dr. Walton mentioned that he had bestowed gratuities; but mentioned not, that Dr. *Castell* had spent upon the work, as he himself † tells us, both the gratuity for his assistance, and a thousand pounds besides, partly of his own private fortune, and partly solicited from the liberality of others.

That a scholar so learned, and so generous, should have been compelled to utter the pangs of disappointment, and grief, and sorrow, who will not deplore? His health was ‡ impaired; his sight almost lost; his fortune greatly injured. “§ See and pity his condition,” says the feeling biographer of Dr. Lightfoot; “see and pity his condition, as he sets it out in one of his Letters to Dr. Lightfoot, where he says, *He had spent twenty years in time to the public service, above 12,000l. of his own estate, and for a*

* Nichols, Supplement to the Origin of Printing, p. 291. Literary Anecdotes, vol. iv. p. 24.

† Præf. in Lex. p. 1. “*Honorarium illud, quod in Præfatione Waltoniana dicor accepisse, in illud ipsum opus non refundebam tantum omne, sed mille plus minus libras ad promovendum illud, partim ab aliis solicitando procurabam, partim ipse donabam ultro.*”

‡ Epist. Dedic. in Lex. “*Mitto privata quæ corpori in curriculo hujus operis contigerunt mala, membrorum confractio, luxationes, contusiones; quodque præ omnibus hisce gravissimè dolet, oculorum lumen, perpetuis atque indefessis vigiliis, tantum non ademptum.*” Again, Præf. in Lex. “*Per plures annos, jam ætate proventus, et una cum patrimonio satis competenti, exhaustis etiam animi viribus, oculis caligantibus, corporis variis in hoc opere confractis et dislocatis membris, relictus sum solus. sine amanuensi, aut vel correctore ullo!*”

§ Strype, ut supr

*reward was left in the close of the work above 1800*l.* in * debt.* Thus he kept his resolution, though [it was as fatal to him as useful to the world. For, in the beginning of the undertaking, he resolved to prosecute it, though it cost him all his estate, as he told Mr. † Clarke! This forced him to make his condition known unto his Majesty, wherein he petitioned, *that a jail might not be his reward for so much service and expence.*”

Nor did his work escape illiberal and malicious remarks. Yet, in a Letter to Dr. Lightfoot, he suppressed his vexation with the consolatory reflection, that “ ‡ one Dr. Lightfoot was more to him than ten thousand such censors. Besides some few others amongst ourselves, I have,” he continues, “ a Golius, a Buxtorf, a Hottinger, a Ludolfo, &c. in foreign parts, that both by their letters, and in print, have not only sufficiently, but too amply and abundantly for me to communicate, expressed their over-high esteem of that, which finds but a prophet’s reward here in its close.”

Still amidst all these adverse circumstances, he was upon the watch for whatever might advance the progress of oriental and biblical learning. The following Letter, written by him in 1664, is a curious proof of this. § “ Though I perish, it comforts me not a little to see how Holy Writ flourishes. I lately received an Armenian Psalter given me by Professor Golius, come newly off the press; where they are printing, at Leyden, the whole Bible in that language. The Old Testament is there printing in the

* See also Castell’s Epist. Ded. in Lex. “ Opus, in quo millenas [libras] multò plures infaustus exhausi, præter plurima atque ingentia valde quæ contraxi debita.”

† Another of Dr. Walton’s assistants, and Dr. Castell’s especial friend. See Bib. Polygl. vol. vi. See also before note (on page 594).

‡ Strype, ut supr. p. xxvi.

§ Ibid. p. xxiii.

Turkish language, perfected by Levinus Warnerus. The New Testament in Turkish, done by Mr. * Seaman, is just now in the press at Oxford; of which I have some sheets by me; as I have also of the old Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels, now printed with a Glossary to them at Leyden. Mr. † Petræus hath printed some parts of the Old Testament in the Ethiopic, and hath many more prepared both in that and the Coptic language. The ‡ Lithuanian, of which I have a good part by me, and

* According to Dr. Worthington's account, where he is speaking of Dr. Castell's Lexicon, this Mr. Seaman was another assistant to Dr. Castell. "The care for the Persian Lexicon and Grammar doth chiefly lie upon Mr. Seaman, of whose skill in the Turkish language I wrote to you heretofore; the same that out of Turkish Manuscripts translated and published the Life of Sultan Orchan. He hath translated some of the New Testament into that language." Dr. Worthington's letters to Hartlib, Ep. xvi. Sept. 9, 1661, p. 282. In 1666, the New Testament in Turkish, by this Mr. Seaman, was published at Oxford.

† Dr. Worthington also says, at this time, "I am glad Petræus is publishing his translations of the Lesser Prophets. In what language are they? He is most for the Coptic language." Letter to Hartlib, October 26, 1661, page 296. The translations to which Dr. Worthington alludes must be those of Jonah, Joel, and Malachi, Ethiopic and Latin, published by Petræus in 1660 and 1661. Petræus published the first Psalm in Coptic, Arabic, and Latin, in 1663. The following may be added to Bishop Marsh's valuable account of *Translations of the Scriptures into the Languages of Africa*. "Fragmenta Basmurico-Coptica Veteris et Novi Testamenti, quæ in Museo Borgiano velitis asservantur, cum reliquis Versionibus Ægyptiis contulit, Latine vertit, necnon criticis et philologicis adnotationibus illustravit W. F. Englebreth, Eccl. Lyd. &c. Verbi Divini Minister, et Præpos. Honor. 4to. Havniæ, 1811. This is a very curious and important work.

‡ A Lithuanian translation of the Bible, made by Chylinsky, was printed in London in 1660. Chylinsky published at Oxford an account of this translation in 1659, which had then been finished; to which the approbation of many learned men of the University is added, dat. Nov. 15, 1659.

the* New England Bibles, I need not name. I have a specimen of a Turkish dictionary, printed at Rome, and of a Chaldee dictionary in folio in the Hebrew language, composed by † Leonard Cohen de Lara ; which our ὁ μακαρίτης Professor Buxtorf much desired he might live to see finished: 'tis said to be now near its period at the press.

One would have rejoiced to find the publication of the Heptaglot Lexicon bringing compensation to its noble-minded editor. Yet the ‡ slender sums which the recommendatory letters of the king to the bishops and noblemen, and of the archbishop and bishops to § others, produced in aid of Dr. Castell's work, only serve to shew

* Bishop Marsh says, that there are only two American languages, into which the whole Bible has been translated ; the Brazilian, and the Virginian. The former, however, has never been printed ; the latter was printed at Cambridge in New-England, the New Testament in 1661, the Old Testament in 1663. Transl. ut supr. p. 98. To these Dr. Castell must be considered as referring, the whole Bible not being reprinted in New-England before 1685.

† Dr. Castell must mean David (not Leonard) Cohen de Lara ; to whose rabbinical dictionary he refers in the Preface to his Lexicon. This person is the author of a remarkably curious philological work, entitled עֵינֵי דָוִד, sive, De Convenientia Vocabulorum Rabbinicorum cum Græcis et quibusdam aliis Linguis Europæis. 4to. Amst. 1648. He says, that this had been his study for twelve years: "Mihi quidem is labor annis stetit duodecim." Præf.

‡ Epist. Dedic. in Lex. "Enimverò universæ hæ literæ, plus minus, septingentas libras tantum mihi porrexerunt ad promovendum opus!"

§ The king's letter in 1660, was followed by one from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the clergy in 1663, before which, application had been made to the Convocation in 1661. See Kennet's Register, p. 493. There were also other letters circulated in behalf of this great undertaking. But Dr. Castell has told us, in the preceding note, how little they all produced ; about seven hundred pounds ; not near a tenth of the sum, which he himself had advanced upon the work ! The king's letter, the archbishop's, and another signed by several bishops, are prefixed to the Lexicon.

the inauspicious period in which he sought assistance : and argue a want of means, we should hope, rather than of discernment or of feeling. How slow must have been the sale of it, when in 1673, he could * communicate to a friend, that he had at least a thousand copies left ! At the time of his death, about five hundred copies are supposed to have been unsold. One hundred, with other books, he left to Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, as an acknowledgment of very high obligations to him. The unsold copies were † placed, by his niece and executrix, in a room in one of her tenants' houses, where they were exposed to the ravages of rats ; by which they were so mangled, that, on her death, her executors could scarcely form one complete copy of them. The whole formed a load of waste paper, which was sold for seven pounds ! Besides this loss of copies, three hundred more of them, as far as the work had then proceeded at press, ‡ perished in the fire of London ; and with them part of his library and furniture. The first volume seems to have been published § in or before 1663 ; and of the second volume

* Original Letter from Dr. Castell to Mr. S. Clarke. Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. iv. p. 695.

† Dibdin, Introduction to the Greek and Latin Classics, 3d edition, vol. i. p. 25.

‡ Epist. Ded. in Lex. " Pars etiam bibliothecae meae, cum multa supellectile et tricenis Lexici Heptaglottii exemplaribus, in flammis periit Londinensibus."

§ It looks as if it had been finished at the press in 1661, by the following observation of Dr. Worthington. " I wish them good success at the press about *the other volume of the Lexicon* ; and that Dr. Castell may have a better gale to carry him to the desired port." Ep xix. November 14, 1661, p. 300. But that the first volume had appeared in 1663, I gather from the *Diatriba de Chaldaicis Paraphrasis, eorumque Versionibus, &c.* By T. Smith, of Oxford, published in that year ; in which, at p. 99, he cites, with proper respect, Dr. Castell, to a radix in vol. 1622 of the said volume of the Lexicon.

great part must have been printed at the time of the fire; which calamitous event, however, * greatly impeded its progress.

But Dr. Castell has not omitted to enumerate many noble patrons of his work, and to acknowledge subscriptions towards repaying his expences. Nor is it probable that he died poor. In 1684 he is found ‡ completing the purchase of a small estate in Hertfordshire; and the inventory of his goods, taken after his decease, § presents the remains of a respectable establishment, not without a coach also and a pair of horses. He appears not, like Dr. Walton, to have been deprived of his rectory in Essex, during the great rebellion. Yet he complains of the || civil war, as well as of the plague and of the fire of London, in the melancholy details of his impediments and losses. He ¶ bequeathed his Oriental Manuscripts to the Public Library of the University of Cambridge. His

* Epist. Déd. "Mitto alia magis publica, Bellum nationale, Pestem saevissimam,, et miserandum urbis Incendium: quibus omnibus diutius multò ut protractum fuit hoc antea languens negotium, ita supra modum ingravescabant simul onera mea et impensae.

† Pæf. in Lex. "Coronidis loco, agnoscenda hic atque publicanda meritò illustrissimorum virorum (in tanto tamque longo plurimorum annorum decursu, non multorum quidè) beneficentia, qui opus hoc neglectum, et casibus diris ac durissimis languescens nimis, donariis suis amplis atque munificentia perbenignè excitarunt ac promoverunt." Then follows the names of the King, the Earl of *Bridgewater*, Viscount *Grandison*, Sir *Edmund Fortescue*, Sir *Norton Knatchbull*, Sir *Thomas Rich*, Sir *Thomas Wendy*, *F. Theobald*, Esq. the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Winchester*, *Chichester*, *Norwich*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Salisbury*. Dr. Castell adds, "Est adhuc honoratissimus unus, vel alter alius, quos intra velum latere jubet prudentia, et rerum ratio."

‡ Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vol. 4. p. 695.

§ Ibid. p. 697—699.

|| See note (*) above.

¶ Nichols, ut supr. pp. 28, 29.

notes upon the Pentaglot Lexicon of Schindler, in an interleaved copy of the work, forming three volumes, are preserved among the Manuscripts of Sidney College in that University; to which society they were *presented by Mr. Theophilus Pickering, one of the fellows soon after the time of Dr. Castell, and a prebendary of Durham. To Emmanuel College Dr. Castell †left some printed books, and to St. John's a silver tankard. The rest of his Library, "*quam ingenti sumptu et summa diligentia ex ulterius Europæ partibus sibi procuravit,*" &c. was sold by auction at Cambridge in 1689.

It has been said that, "‡we know nothing further published by Dr. Castell, excepting a thin quarto pamphlet, in 1660, entitled §*Sol Angliæ Oriens Auspiciis Caroli II. Regum Gloriosissimi.*" He certainly published also a very curious and valuable ||Oration upon the Arabic Language,

* Edm. Castelli Notæ in Lexicon Schindleri propriâ manu scriptæ. Biblioth. Coll. Sindney-Fuss. h. l. dedit T. Pickering, S. T. B. ejusdem Coll. Soc. et Canonicus Dunelm. The three volumes abound with notes; and we may form a notion of their great value, when in the Preface to his own Lexicon we find Dr. Castell referring to "*Schindleri* [Lexicon] quod ferè integrum in hoc opus transfundimus."

† Nichols, ut supr.

‡ Ibid. p. 24.

§ Printed in 1660. The dedication is to the king, which closes thus: "*Carmina sua illis linguis, quæ in Lexico, quod sub prelo est, Polyglotto Orientali, exhibentur, humillimè offert, suo et sociorum nomine Edm. Castell, S. T. B.*"

|| It is remarkable that this Oration should have hitherto been overpassed by those who have written concerning Dr. Castell, as he expressly refers to it in the Preface to his Lexicon. The whole title of it is, "Oratio in Scolis Theologicis habita ab Edmundo Castello S. T. D. et Linguae Arabicae in Academia Cantabrigiensi Professor, cum Prælectiones suas in secundum Canonis Avicennae librum auspicaretur, quibus via præstruitur ex Scriptoris Orientalibus ad clarius ac dilucidius enarrandam Botanologicam S. S. Scripturæ partem, opus à nemine adhuc tentatum." 4to. Lond. 1667.

which indeed deserves to be well known. It recommends, among other eulogies, this language on account of its copiousness; and speaks of its numerous words so comprehensive, as, singly, to express whole sentences. It informs us, that the Arabians and Syrians possessed some writings of Plato, Aristotle, Livy, Galen, Dioscorides, and even of the Christian Fathers, to which Europeans were utter strangers. It relates advantages which have been derived from it to the study of the civil and canon law, and also of medicine. It especially details several errors and obscurities, into which expositors of Avicenna have run. It moreover displays abundant sacred criticism, and investigates several Oriental Versions of Scripture.

In the preceding publication, the *Sol Angliæ*, &c. congratulating the king upon his return in Polyglot verses, the introductory poem notices the Polyglot Bible with admiration and gratitude. And now reverting to Dr. Castell's principal work, I adopt in conclusion the very judicious remark upon it of no ordinary pen, " *that it is a work which has long challenged the admiration, and † defied

* Dibdin, ut supr. pp. 26, 27.

† Some improvements have been made, and some proposed, upon Castell. The Persic Lexicon is a part of Dr. Castell's work, which has been undervalued, Dr. A. Clarke says, by such as either did not or could not consult it: but it is an excellent work; and to it even *Meninski* and *Richardson* are indebted for a multitude of articles; its chief fault is want of distinct arrangement: the words are sadly intermixed, and many Persian words are printed with Hebrew types, probably because they had but few Persian characters. Bibliograph. Dict. Vol. I. p. 269. I may add, that lately the following remark has been made in regard to the Syriac part. "Vocabula Syriaca, in Jobo obvia, apud Castellum autem in Lexico desiderata, accuratè enotavi. Qui Castellianum Lexicon quotidianis manibus terunt, benè intelligunt, quæ quantalque in Lexicographia Syriaca adhuc præstanda supersint, neque parvam hanc messem in contemptu habebunt, sed potius his candidè mecum fruentur." Vid. Curæ Hexaplares in Jobum è Codice Syriaco-Hexaplatari

the competition, of foreigners ; and, *which, with the great Polyglot of Walton, its inseparable and invaluable companion, has raised an eternal monument of literary fame.*"

Ambrosiano-Mediolanensi. Scripsit *Henricus Middeldorpf*, Phil. et Theol. D. Hujusque P. P. O. in Universitate Litterarum Vratislaviensi. 4to. Vratislaviae. 1817. p. xi.





